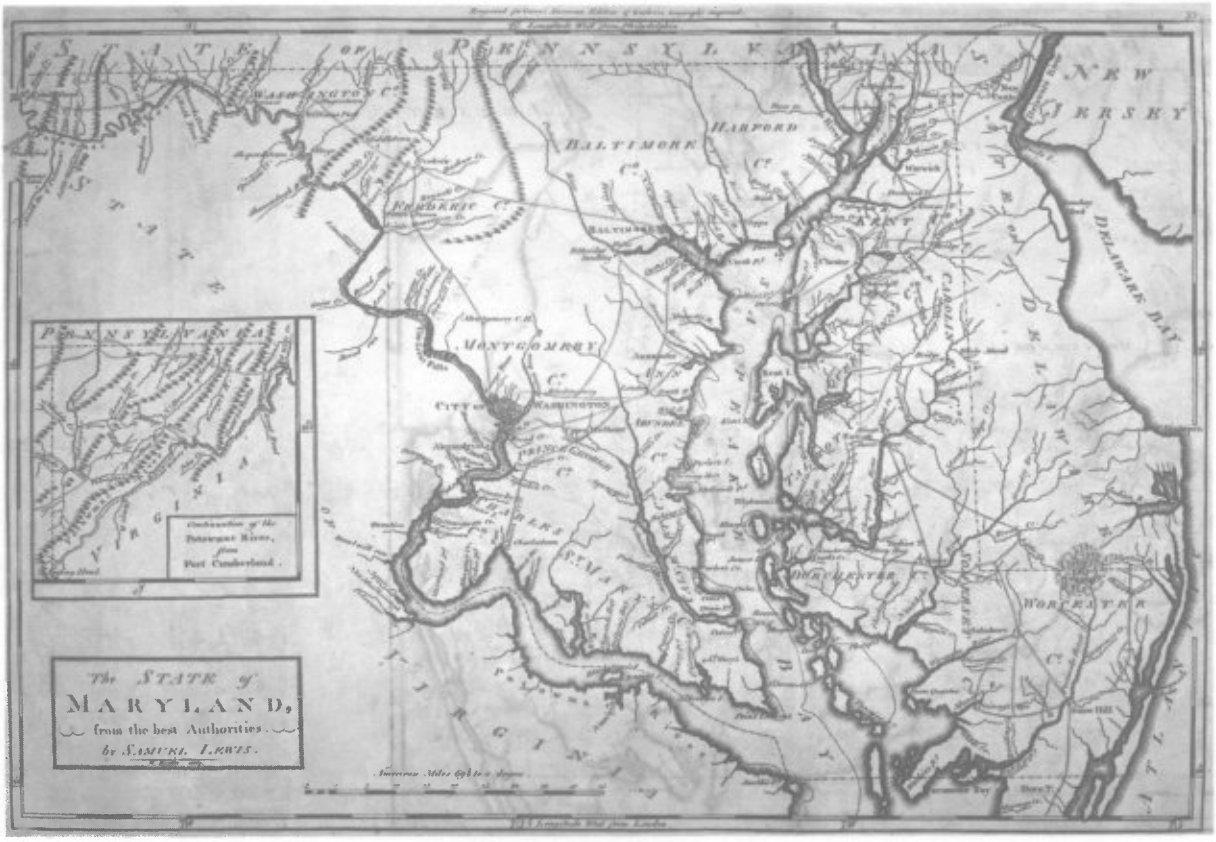
Summer 2005

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



Centennial Edition

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to rcottom@mdhs.org. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

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VOLUME 100, No. 2 (SUMMER 2005)

CENTENNIAL EDITION

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Cover

Samuel Lewis, Map of Maryland, *1795. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

Editor's Notebook

Two Who Loved History

An axiom of the publishing business is that while working in it one tends to meet some of the best people. Here is a salute to two who clearly fall into that category.

Michael P. McCarthy, a combination of Princetonian charm and Irish wit, could banish editorial frowns in the wink of an eye. To see him lumbering down the corridor toward our offices, floppy slouch hat pulled low over his eyes, glasses sliding down his nose, battered leather satchel under his arm, was to know that the day's business was coming to a temporary halt and that the day was also going to get a little bit better. Mike clearly had a way about him. Whether he was walking, deep in thought on a gray autumn afternoon, down Longwood Road toward the village grocery and center of our Baltimore neighborhood, or padding barefoot along the length of the North Baltimore Aquatic Club's Spartan indoor pool in his familiar faded orange trunks, one knew the mirth was about to strike and that afterward, likely, would come an idea. Mike McCarthy's ideas centered around cities—how they worked, how they sometimes didn't, and how they might have worked better. Many appeared in the pages of this journal—"Baltimore's Highway Wars Revisited"; "Renaissance Rivalry in Baltimore: One Charles Center vs. One North Charles"; "The 'Barnes Dance': Henry A. Barnes, Thomas D'Alesandro, and Baltimore's Postwar Traffic Pains"—and in *The Living City: Baltimore's Charles Center & Inner Harbor Development,* with photographs by Marion E. Warren.

Older than Mike McCarthy by a generation, Charles Albert Earp's avocation after a long career in business was genealogy and Civil War history. The latter came naturally—six of his forebears had worn Union blue; two had died. Slight of frame, frail as age slowly claimed its price, he spent his retirement seeking out the almost forgotten stories of Maryland Union men. He was the last man I knew with immediate ties to the Grand Army of the Republic, and as his co-author and publisher Dan Toomey has noted elsewhere, the last person we knew who had actually touched the hands of and spoken to veterans of the Civil War. His remarkable little book, *The 75th Reunion at Gettysburg: My Interviews with the Veterans* (Linthicum, Md.: Toomey Press, 2003) relates how at the age of twenty-one he hopped a train from Baltimore to the last gathering of the old soldiers on the Gettysburg battlefield in 1938. There he walked through the tent city—each of the 486 Confederate and 1,359 Union veterans had a tent for himself and his escort—interviewing the last of the men who had been touched by fire. (Ninety-three-year-old O. R. Gillette, 2d Mississippi, Heth's Division, retraced his footsteps during Pickett's Charge and explained how when the Union fire became too intense to bear he turned and "ran like hell.") In 1939, in this journal, Charles also published his first article, the tale of that seriocomic early Civil War character, Richard Thomas, or "Colonel Zarvona," written as

part of his graduate work at the Hopkins. He also published with us *Yellow Flag: The Civil War Journal of Surgeon's Steward C. Marion Dodson*, and with Dan Toomey, *Marylanders in Blue: The Artillery and the Cavalry.*

These men were what an earlier age called gentleman scholars, who wrote for satisfaction and pleasure. They were modest. McCarthy, the gentle Irish giant, never mentioned his lengthy academic pedigree. Charles was reticent about his relationship to another Earp, to whom he referred simply as "Cousin Wyatt," he of that OK Corral business in Tombstone. Both contributed to the understanding of Maryland history and to the collegiality of this institution. Both, too, were exceptionally good company.

R.I.C.

A Note on the Centennial Volume

This issue continues Volume 100 with more articles selected by the editorial board as among the best of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* Arranged chronologically to follow upon those in the spring issue, they cover various aspects of eighteenth-century Maryland history. Each is followed by a comment from the original author or from prominent scholars in that field.

A Century of Accommodation: The Nanticoke Indians in Colonial Maryland

FRANK W. PORTER III

Based on their contact with explorers, traders, missionaries, and colonists who were from different countries, the many tribes of Native Americans inhabiting the Eastern seaboard initially were exposed to only specific facets of European culture. These Native Americans never experienced the entire range of European culture; consequently, the process of acculturation was extremely complex, impinging on the tribes from many different sources. In many instances tribes retreated as a result of culture contact. These migrations not only placed the tribes in new habitats, but brought them into contact with different aboriginal culture groups, forcing them to adapt to different cultural and environmental conditions and further complicating the process of acculturation.[1]

By the end of the seventeenth century only the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland had withstood nearly seventy years of mounting pressure and conflict created by continuous contact with the white settlers. While many of the smaller, lesser known tribes had been forced to disperse and were later absorbed into other tribes, some groups simply vanished leaving no evidence as to their fate. Unlike the Susquehannock Indians, who finally resorted to hostility and war to resist the Europeans, and the Piscataway, who allied them-

1. In 1957, William N. Fenton cited the needs and opportunities for the study of American Indian and white relations. Unfortunately, in Maryland this plea has gone virtually unanswered. For further elaboration of this particular theme, see Clarence E. Carter, "British Policy towards the American Indians in the South, 1763–8," *English Historical Review* 33 (January 1918): 37–56; Bernard W. Sheehan, "Indian-White Relations in Early America: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly* 26 (19691: 267–86; and Wilcomb E. Washburn, "A Moral History of Indian-White Relations: Needs & Opportunities for Study," *Ethnohistory* 4 (1957): 47–61. More recently, Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978) argues that what White Indian policy makers wanted derived from the major values and political objectives prevailing in European and American societies; what they thought they could attain depended upon their image of the Indian, 113–34.

This article first appeared in volume 74 (1979). Dr. Porter has published Indians of North America *(1987) and numerous books and articles on the Indians of the Eastern Shore of the United States.*

selves with the Maryland colonists only to be betrayed, the Nanticokes ultimately abandoned their villages on the Eastern Shore and migrated to Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada.[2]

Regarding the English policy of dealing with the Indians' possessory rights, Charles Royce has argued that the Indian was overlooked and ignored in most of the original grants of territory to private companies and colonists. While the Crown granted away title to land in the New World, it left to the discretion of the grantees how to deal with the inhabitants. Significantly, however, the Indians are not completely excluded in the charter issued by Charles I in 1632 which granted Maryland to Lord Baltimore. Four phrases in the charter allude to the Indians, but fail either to stipulate the rights of the Indians, or to indicate any concern for their welfare or proper treatment. First, there is a simple recognition that the granted territory is occupied by Indians. Second, mention is made of a payment which required "two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the said castle of Windsor." Third, "savages" are referred to as among the possible enemies the colonists might have to encounter. Finally, the fourth allusion to the Indians is the twelfth section of the charter which authorized Lord Baltimore to collect troops and wage war on the "barbarians" and other enemies who might threaten the settlements, and "to pursue them beyond the limits of their province," and "if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them; and the captives to put to death, or according to their discretion, to save."[3] In effect, actual contact with the Indians would create the need to develop a policy which recognized the Indians' right of occupancy and the responsibility of the grantees to extinguish this right by purchase or other proper methods.

In the Maryland charter the King transferred to Lord Baltimore absolute authority, without reservation or exception in regard to the Indians, to deal with them in his own way as to their title to and possession of the land. Before leaving England, Lord Baltimore instructed Governor Leonard Calvert that upon his arrival in Maryland he was initially to choose a place that would be "healthful and fruitful," could be easily fortified, and would be convenient for trade both with the English and the "savages."[4] Three important spheres of activity in Maryland would gradually lead to the formation of a land policy towards the Indians: develop-

2. Detailed tribal histories for Maryland are sadly lacking. Background information of the Piscataway and Susquehannock may be found in Alice L. L. Ferguson, *The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland* (Accokeek: Alice Ferguson Foundation, 1960); idem, "The Susquehanna Fort on Piscataway Creek," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 36 (1941): 1–9; Wm. B. Marye, "Piscataway," *MdHM* 30 (1935): 183–240; and Donald A. Cadzow, *Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1936).

3. Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, 18th Annual Report, 1896–97, part 2, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1899), 549–51.

4. Wm. Hand Browne, *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert: Barons Baltimore of Baltimore*

ment of missionary activities, establishment of trade relationships with the Indians, and procurement of land from the Indians for the colonists.

In soliciting potential settlers to accompany him to Maryland, Lord Baltimore declared that his "chief intention" was "to plant Christianity there." "Never more noble Enterprise entred into English hearts," he indicated, and "The Indians themselves [are] sending farre and nigh for Teachers, to instruct and Baptize them."[5] In an early promotional tract about the colony, Lord Baltimore further publicized his purpose in colonizing Maryland.

> The first and most important design . . . is, not to think so much of Planting fruits and trees in a land so fruitful, as of sowing the seeds of Religion and piety. [It is] Surely a design worthy of Christians, worthy of angels, worthy of Englishmen.[6]

After his arrival in Maryland, Leonard Calvert, conferring with the emperor of the Piscataway Indians, explained to him the purpose of their coming: "to teach, them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country abounded withal." Seeking out the Indians, Father John Altham, a Jesuit missionary, critically pointed out the "errors of the heathens." Father Altham intended "to impart civilized instruction to [this] ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven, and at the same time

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(New York, 1890), 48. "Instructions 13 Novem. 1633 directed by the Right Honoble Cecilius Lo. Baltimore and Lord of the Provinces of Mary Land and Avalon unto his well beloved Brother Leo. Calvert Esqr his Lops Deputy Governor of his province of Mary Land and unto Jerom Hawley and Thomas Cornwaleys Esq^{r} his Lopp^{s} Commissioners for the government of the said province." Original draft located in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. For a brief treatment of Maryland's Indian land policy see Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, 569–75; and Myriam Stottnero-Montero, "The Rights of the Indians in America and the English Land Policies in the 17th Century Colonies in America" (Master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1963).

5. *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-Land; Wherein is set forth how Englishmen may become Angels, the King's Dominions be extended and the adventurers attain Land and Gear, together with other advantages of that Sweet Land* (Baltimore, 1929), 2–3. Relatively little research has been directed towards Jesuit, or the later Moravian, missions in Maryland. For a cursory review of this neglected subject see B. U. Campbell, "Early Missions Among the Indians in Maryland," *MdHM* 1 (1906): 293–316. Of related interest is Maxwell F. Taylor, "The Influence of Religion on White Attitudes Toward Indians in the Early Settlement of Virginia" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1970); and Norman Lewis, "English Missionary Interest in the Indians of North America, 1578–1700" (University of Washington, 1968). For earlier activities of Spanish Jesuit missionaries in the Chesapeake Bay region, see Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570–1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

6. An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, 1633 in Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), 5.

[communicate] the advantages of distant countries." Completely unaware of the full implications of these conversations, Archihu, acting chief of Potomac, enthusiastically replied: "That is just what I wish, we will eat at the same table; my followers too shall go to hunt for you, and we will have all things in common."[7] Unknown to Father Altham, who was offering the brotherhood of Christianity, Archihu was responding with generalized reciprocity, which, Elman Service states, is the form of highest altruism.[8]

Although Lord Baltimore had publicly announced his intent to christianize the Indians, his primary objectives centered on procuring land and establishing trade relations with the Indians. To further sway the interests of "noble Gentlemen" in colonizing Maryland, Lord Baltimore generously offered two thousands acres of good land to any person who would contribute 100 £ for the transportation of five able men and furnish them with arms, tools, clothes, utensils, and food for one year.[9] On March 25, 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert and an estimated two hundred and twenty-two colonists landed on the shores of Maryland and erected a cross at St. Clement's Island. In order to prevent any hostilities with the Indians, Calvert waived any question of right or superior power to the land, and agreed to purchase outright the site for a town and a thirty mile extent of land. The Piscataway Indians, who had previously decided to move further inland to avoid the raids of the Susquehannock Indians, readily agreed to the offer of Governor Calvert. Father Andrew White, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, observed that inter-tribal conflict facilitated the procuring of land. "The Susquehanna, a tribe inured to war, the bitterest enemies of King Yaocomico, making repeated inroads, ravage his whole territory, and have driven the inhabitants, from their apprehension of danger, to seek homes elsewhere," remarked Father White, "This is one reason why we so easily secured a part of his kingdom. They move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave us their houses, lands and cultivated fields."[10] This initial practice of purchasing the land from the Indians established a precedent, at least in theory, for future land transactions.

Unfortunately for the Indians a substantial inconsistency existed between Lord Baltimore's official interpretation of the legal status of Indian land titles and voluntary purchase of them by colonists. Many ambitious settlers, apparently unable to obtain grants of land from the proprietor, purchased land directly from the Indians and then produced their Indian deed as proof of title to the land.

7. Father Andrew White, S.J., *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, Fund Publication, no. 7 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1874), 34 [Hereinafter cited as White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*].

8. Elman R. Service, *The Hunters* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966), 14–20.

9. *A Relation of Maryland; Together, With a Map of the Countrey, The Conditions of Plantations, His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltimore, translated into English* (London, 1635), 38–40.

10. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, 37, 82.

Instituting this practice was William Claiborne of Virginia who in 1638 attempted to strengthen his claim to land in Maryland, despite Lord Baltimore's grant, by purchasing Kent Island from the Indians. Maryland authorities immediately challenged Claiborne's title to the land because the purchase had not been authorized by Lord Baltimore. The final settlement of the dispute between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore did not consider the issue of purchasing the land from the Indians.[11] An Act of the Maryland Assembly passed in 1649, however, sought to alleviate future controversies by declaring that titles to land acquired through direct purchase from the Indians were not valid—titles must be acquired from authorities in Maryland. Such legislation proved to be ineffective. In 1723, the Maryland Assembly complained that unsanctioned private purchasing of Indian land was continuing, and forbade it, insisting that positively no recognition would be given to a land title so secured.[12] Jane Henry, focusing on proprietary policy with regard to the property rights of the Choptank Indians, argues that the large-scale encroachment of Indian land vastly exceeded the ability of the Proprietor of Maryland to control it.[13]

A broad network of trade relations between Virginia and the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region had developed prior to the arrival of Lord Baltimore's contingent of settlers. Trade with the Indians had proven to be a very lucrative enterprise, and Lord Baltimore predicted that the "rich trade with the Indians of Beaver skins would possibly yield a profit of thirty to one."[14]

Participation in this trade network was quite harmful to the Indians. Robert Beverley of Virginia depicted the native Indians at the time of contact as "uncultivated in Learning, Trades, and Fashions; so Innocent, and ignorant of all manner of Politiks, Tricks, and Cunning; and so desirous of the Company of the English: That they seem'd rather to be like soft Wax, ready to take any Impression."[15] Father Andrew White similarly observed that the Indians "possessed . . . a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse with us, and for European garments."[16]

11. Nathaniel C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne 1600-1677* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951),169–87.

12. Wm. Hand Browne, et al., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 volumes to date (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 34: 738–40.

13. Jane Henry, "The Choptank Indians of Maryland under the Proprietary Government," *MdHM* 65 (1970): 171–80.

14. *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1929), 4. "There is a lucrative trade with the Indians," exclaimed Lord Baltimore, "a certain merchant in the last year, exported beaver skins to the value of 40,000 gold crowns." *An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, 8.

15. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, edited with an Introduction by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), 16.

16. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, 41.

Both Father White and Robert Beverley realized that the avarice of the traders had instilled hostility and suspicion among the Indians towards the Europeans. Uncontrolled and unregulated trade, Beverley suggested, "created Jealousies and Disturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better Bargain than another: For they being unaccustom'd to barter, such of them as had been hardest dealt by in their Commodities, thought themselves cheated and abused; and so conceiv'd a Grudge against the English in general."[17]

One of the first pieces of legislation passed by the Maryland Assembly concerned trade with the Indians. Specifically, this legislation states that trade had been the main and chief encouragement of Lord Baltimore in undertaking the "great charge and hazard of planting this Province and to endue the Gentlemen and other first adventurers to come." The bill also affirmed the sole right of the Proprietor to trade with the Indians in Maryland and declared that no trade with the Indians would be conducted without a special license from Lord Baltimore. Regulating trade with the Indians was essential because it would prevent an increase in the price of Indian corn or its being transported out of the province in "time of our greatest need," restrict the spread of "Jealousies[,] rumors[,] and false news" among the Indians, and disallow poorly manned vessels to engage in trade with the Indians for fear the arms and ammunitions would fall into their possession."[18] By 1650, the Maryland Assembly had eliminated the restriction requiring a license from the Proprietor and given the inhabitants of the province liberty "to trade with any Indians, for any Beaver, or other Commodities, and the same to export (Corn excepted, which could not be exported without special Leave from the Governor)."[19] Apparently, more than three decades of exploiting the fur-bearing animals had depleted this resource and substantially reduced the profits accruing to the Proprietor.

Taken as a whole these three spheres of activity wrought tremendous change in the culture and habitat of the Indians of Maryland. Jesuit missionaries firmly believed that the Indians, once imbued with Christian precepts, would become "eminent observers of virtue and humanity." A major obstacle to be overcome was the inability of the Jesuits to communicate using the Indian language. "On account of the very many difficulties that present themselves in this Mission," wrote one Jesuit, "there has been thus far but little fruit from it, especially among the Savages, whose language is slowly acquired by our Countrymen, and can hardly be written at all."[20] Further complicating their work was the fact that the Maryland authorities would not allow the Jesuits to dwell among the Indians because of a prevailing sickness and the hostile disposition which the Indians evinced to-

17. Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, 29–30.
18. *Arch. Md.*, 1:38, 42–44.
19. Ibid., 1:307–308.
20. White, *Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland*, 54.

wards the English. The Jesuits, however, were extremely persistent in attempting to learn the Indian language and through their patience and diligence succeeded in gradually converting many of the Indians.[21]

By June of 1639, the Jesuits had dispersed and established missions among several of the tribes. Father John Brock remained at the plantation of Metapannayen near Patuxent; Father Philip Fisher resided at St. Mary's, the principal town of the colony; Father John Grovener occupied Kent Island; and Father Andrew White lived with Chitomachen, emperor of the Piscataway at Kittamaqund. Within a short period of time, Father White had managed not only to persuade the Indians to dress with more modesty, but succeeded in inducing Chitomachen to take only one wife. Other changes were more subtle in nature. In seeking the conversion of the Indians, the Jesuits often carried with them, as gifts for the Indians, bells, combs, fishhooks, needles, thread, and other articles.[22]

Despite the apparent success of the Jesuit missionaries in gaining converts, a century later, Shikellamy, an Oneida Indian, informed the Reverend David Brainerd: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers."[23] Adding to the difficulties of the Jesuits was the fact that Lord Baltimore did not allow them to proceed freely. In their attempts to live with the Indians, the Jesuits had secured land directly from them. Such a practice was contrary to proprietary policy. Lord Baltimore disallowed their holdings, forcing the Jesuits to relinquish their Indian' lands. Even though they continued to proselytize the Indians, the Jesuits never realized their desire for large-scale conversions comparable to the missionary activity in Canada and South America.[24] Nevertheless, the close association and daily contact between the missionaries and the various tribes of Indians produced changes in both the material and non-material culture. How pervasive these non-material changes were is conjectural. Perhaps the conversions and baptisms which the missionaries so strongly emphasized were one means of the Indians to accommodate the physical presence of the Jesuits. But one must also consider the strong possibility that the success of the conversions depicted by the Jesuits were attempts to satisfy their Superiors in Europe and authorities in Maryland as to the success of their activities.

21. Ibid., 85; and B. U. Campbell, "Early Missions Among the Indians in Maryland," *MdHM*, 1 (1906): 293–316.

22. Ibid., 62–63.

23. Wm. M. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745–66* (Syracuse, 1916), 7; and Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions among the Indians," *Pennsylvania History* 18 (1951): 1–15.

24. Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), 18.

Ultimately, the most severe problem which continually confronted the Nanticokes and other tribes in Maryland after their initial contact with Europeans was encroachment of their land. While Father White and his fellow Jesuits had foreseen in their missionary activity only the benefits to both colonists and Indians, they paid little heed to the inherent detriment to the Indian way of life. "It is much more Prudence, and Charity, to Civilize, and make them Christians, then to kill, robbe, and hunt them from place to place, as you would do a wolfe," argued Father White, for "By reducing of them, God shall be served, his Majesties Empire enlarged by the addition of many thousand Subjects, as well as of large Territories, our Nation honoured, and the Planters themselves enriched by the trafficke and commerce which may be had with them."[25]

The prolific slaughter of fur-bearing animals, the constant clearing of woodland for agriculture, and the destruction of plant and animal food resources disrupted the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticokes. As a result they became more and more dependent on European trade goods—food, clothing, utensils, and weapons.[26]

The colonial authorities of Maryland sought at an early date to protect the Indians by cautioning their inhabitants to respect the Indians' "Privileges" of hunting, fishing, and crabbing. Such admonitions went unheeded, and the early disruption of the economic environment of the Nanticokes can be evidenced by the numerous complaints registered against their killing and stealing domestic hogs and cattle. In 1666 an Indian named Mattagund appealed to Maryland officials to "Let us have no Quarrels for killing Hogs no more than for the Cows Eating the Indian corn. Your hogs & Cattle injure Us You come too near Us to live & Drive Us from place to place. We can fly no farther let us know where to live & how to be

25. "Of the Naturall Disposition of the Indians," in Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 90.

26. [Pennsylvania Archives]. *Colonial Records*. Edited by Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg and Philadelphia, 1838–1853), 4: 707–708. "Every now and then the English have chided us that we would have Perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strowds and Hatchets and Guns and other things necessary for the Support of Life. But we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told Us. We had then room enough and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught, and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and these Served our Uses as well then as the English ones do now. We are now Strained and sometimes in want of Deer, and Lyable to many other Inconveniences since the English came among Us, and particularly from that Pen and Ink work." For a complete analysis of the relationship between Indians and European traders see George Irving Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier* (New York: Encyclopedia Americana, 1972); and Georgiana C. Nammack, *Fraud, Politics, and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

secured for the future from the Hogs & Cattle."[27] A half-century later similar complaints were still reaching the Maryland Assembly. In response the legislators issued a familiar statement in the following proclamation:

> . . . severall avaricious & ill minded psons Inhabitants of this Province grdging the said Indians any Reasonable Subsistence do prevent & Obstruct them in their hunting, fishing and fowling & setting Traps . . . notwithstanding that it is Stipulated by the Government with the Indians Inhabiting within this province that they shall Exercise & Enjoy that freedom and Privilege. . . .[28]

Between 1642 and 1698 the Nanticokes, frustrated by land-hungry settlers and unscrupulous traders, retaliated by intermittently either staging raids or threatening war to protect themselves and their land. In 1642 and again in 1647 the Nanticokes attacked several white settlements, and in turn were declared enemies of the province. On July 4, 1647, Captain John Price and thirty to forty armed men sailed across the Chesapeake Bay to put an end to these depredations. Price was ordered to, show no mercy to the Indians, to destroy their corn, burn their houses, and kill them or take them prisoners.[29] The objective of these punitive measures was to prevent the Indians from planting corn, hunting, or fishing which would make them more dependent on the colony. In 1652, the Susquehannock Indians signed a treaty with Maryland's proprietary officials, relinquishing their claim to jurisdiction over the Eastern Shore as far south as the Choptank River. No longer fearful of reprisals from the Susquehannocks, Maryland authorities could now carry out military operations against the Eastern Shore Indians. Shortly thereafter, the Governor of Maryland received a petition from the inhabitants of Kent Island which stated: "there hath been by the Eastern Shore Indians one Murdered and now of late one Shott, another killed, and Stript neare to his own house." The petitioners further requested that the Governor "take Some Speedy Course for the Suppressing of these Heathens, and avenging of Guiltless Blood, and the preservation of our lives with our wives and Children." Although Governor William Stone responded positively to this request, Captain William Fuller, who had been placed in command of the troops, advised the Governor to postpone the expedi-

27. *Arch. Md.* 2: 15. In 1712, the Maryland Assembly finally addressed the "great Evil accruing to this Province by the Multiplicity of useless horse, mares, & colts that run in the woods." *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1712, Chapter 4. In 1666, and again in 1692 and 1699, the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act prohibiting Trade with the Indians, for any Flesh dead or alive, except Deer and Wild Fowl." This law strongly suggests that the Indians, accustomed to selling the meat of wild game to the colonists, continued this practice after the supply of these animals decreased by killing domestic animals.

28. *Arch. Md.* 33: 22–23, 73–74.

29. Ibid., 3: 191.

tion because in addition to inclement weather, the Indians had learned of the intended expedition. Governor Stone agreed with his commander, and the campaign against the Eastern Shore Indians apparently never took place.[30]

By 1668, the Nanticoke had come under the complete subjection of the Maryland authorities. On May 1, 1668 Unnacokasimmon, emperor of the Nanticoke, signed the first of five separate treaties with the province of Maryland. This treaty sought to establish "an Inviolable peace & Amity between the Right Honarable the Lord Proprietor of this province, and the Emperor of Nanticoke to the World's End to Endure," and agreed that "all former Acts of Hostility & Damages whatsoever by either Party susteyned to be buried in perpetual Oblivion."[31] In order to secure and maintain a peaceful relationship with the white settlers, the Nanticokes received orders to surrender their arms and hold up their hands tied with a white cloth when they approached an Englishman's plantation, and to hand over to Maryland officials for punishment any individuals who murdered or plundered an Englishman.[32] Despite these directives and treaties of peace, friction continued between the Nanticokes and Maryland settlers. In 1677 and 1678, Nanticokes raided plantations on both the Western and Eastern shores of Maryland. In 1682 soldiers were sent to punish these offenders. And in 1687 rumors circulated that the Nanticokes were planning an uprising against the colony.[33] Throughout this period the Whites continued to occupy Nanticoke land illegally.

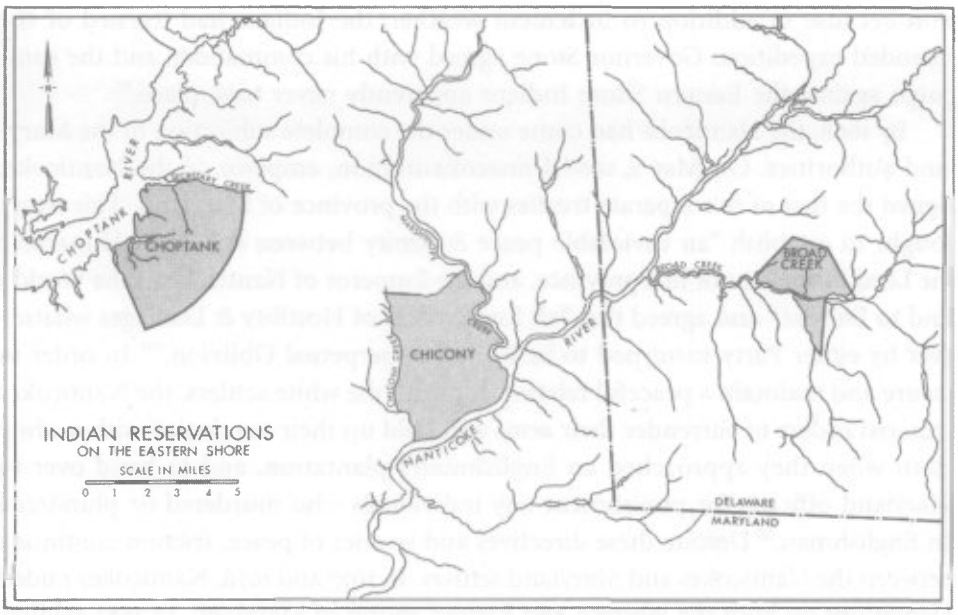
Exasperated by the loss of their land and as a further means of accommodating the permanent presence of the white settlers, the Choptank, and later the Nanticoke Indians, requested the Maryland authorities to provide them with tracts of land legally established by a grant from Lord Baltimore. The Maryland Assembly responded with the establishment of the Choptank, Chicony, and Broad Creek Reservations (see map, 124). In 1669, the Maryland Assembly created a reservation for the Choptank Indians. It included the land on the south side of the Choptank River, bounded on the west by the freehold of William Dorrington, on the east with "secretary Sewall's Creek (now called Secretary Creek) for breadth, and for length three miles into the woods: to be held of his Lordship under yearly rental of six beaver skins." In 1698, the Maryland legislators passed an act to create

30. Ibid., 15: 143–48, 8: 31, 35, 36, 17: 311, 5: 547, 23: 456–57, 29: 229, 33: 311, and 34: 207. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners* (Baltimore, 1937) succinctly narrates these expeditions. For a brief summary see C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1948), 37–44.

31. *Arch. Md.* 5: 29–30 and 558–59, 8: 533–36, 26: 442–44, and 28: 587–89.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 5: 547. In 1687 two Nanticokes assaulted Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, who lived in Baltimore County, wounding them and Enock's wife when she came to his assistance. A group of white settlers went to the "Indian Cabinn" and demanded the perpetrators to surrender, but they had already fled. A month later the circumstances surrounding this particular incident were made public. The murder of Enock was to avenge the earlier slaying



a reservation for the Nanticoke Indians of Dorchester County, but this legislation was repealed in 1704 and a similar act was passed to define the bounds of the Chicony Reservation. The reservation was described as beginning at the mouth of Chickawan Creek (now called Chicone Creek, extending up that creek to its source, then along a straight line to the headwaters of Francis Anderton's Branch, down this creek to where it enters the North West Fork of the Nanticoke River (now called Marshyhope Creek, down the North West Fork to its entrance into the Nanticoke River, and down the Nanticoke to the original line at the mouth of Chicone Creek. Chicony Reservation was surveyed for the "use of the Nanticoke Indians in Dorchester County, so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711, the Maryland Assembly provided an additional 3,000 acres of land for the Nanticokes on Broad Creek.[34]

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of a Nanticoke Indian. The report stated "the Indian [Annockohill the white Indian] did doe prejudice to the murthered Enock's stock by cutting his Piggs Eares off & Tails and when the reason was demanded why they did doe they said the Piggs eat their corn and when Enock's Wife spoke chidingly they sayd the Englishmen would not chide nor scold when they killed the Nanticoke Indian last Spring." *Arch. Md.* 8: 5, 10.

34. *Arch. Md.* 29: 20. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1704 Chapter 58; 1711 Chapter 1; John Kilty, *The Land-holder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808), 350–59; and Henry H. Hutchinson, "Indian Reservations of the Maryland Provincial Assembly on the Middle Delmarva Peninsula," *The Archeologist* (October 1961): 1–5. The underlying motive for providing the additional land to the Nanticokes concerned the fear among several of the Maryland legislators about the hostilities in North Carolina with the Tuscarora Indians. *Arch. Md.* 29: 10, 45.

Permanent residence on reservations was antithetic to the seasonal subsistence strategy of the Nanticoke. The Nanticoke's and other Algonkian tribes' economy produced a specific strategy of subsistence well adapted to different ecological zones. Ronald A. Thomas, et al and Daniel R. Griffith, analyzing the Indians' environmental adaptations to Delaware's Coastal Plain, identify six micro-environments available to the aboriginal population: (1) poorly-drained woodlands, (2) transitional woodlands, (3) well-drained woodlands, (4) tidal marsh and estuarine, (5) permanent fresh water, and (6) salt water bays and oceans. After the associated flora and fauna used as a foodstuff by the Indians and their seasonal fluctuations were determined, Griffith, using archaeological data, postulated four possible settlement types: (1) seasonal camps, (2) permanent camps, 13) semi-permanent camps, and (4) transient camps.[35] Early observations of the Indians depict this movement to seasonal camps. Sir Richard Greeneville, who visited Virginia from 1585 to 1586, stated: ". . . the Savages disband into small groups and disperse to different places to live upon shell fish. Other places afford fishing and hunting while their fields are being prepared for the planting of corn."[36] Captain John Smith vividly described this seasonal subsistence strategy:

> In March and April they live much upon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkies and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fieldes; and live most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In June, Julie, and August, they feed upon the roots of Tocknough, berries, fish and green wheat.[37]

The continued success of the Nanticokes in their subsistence efforts depended entirely upon freedom of mobility and access to these micro-environments at critical seasons of the year.

Though serving to ease the difficulties arising from land encroachment, reservations created a more serious dilemma by undermining the seasonal subsistence

35. Ronald A. Thomas, Daniel R. Griffith, Cara L. Wise, and Richard E. Artusy, Jr., "Environmental Adaptation on Delaware's Coastal Plain," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* (1975): 35–90; and Daniel R. Griffith, "Ecological Studies of Prehistory," in *Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science*, ed. John C. Kraft (Newark, 1976), 63–81.

36. "An Account of the Particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneville under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17 of August 1585 until the 18 of June 1586 at which time they departed the country," in *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York, 1965), 8: 338.

37. Edward Arber, ed., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England 1580–1631*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910), 68.

strategy which the Nanticokes depended upon to meet their basic needs. Two critical problems emanated from residence on the reservations: the disruption of the Nanticokes' ability to subsist in their habitat and the misunderstanding associated with the clause, "so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same." In 1711, less than a decade after removing to the Chicony Reservation, the Nanticokes bitterly claimed that their lands were worn out and insufficient for their use. They requested additional land, which was granted to them with the erection of Broad Creek Reservation. An equally grave crisis which continued to plague the Nanticokes was the "repeated and excessive trespass" on their land by white settlers. Once again the Maryland Assembly sought to stave off these offenses by assuring the Nanticokes of their "free and uninterrupted possession of the tract lying between the North Fork of the Nanticoke River and Chicucone Creek . . . so long as they or any of them should think fit to use and not totally desert and quit the same." As a final precaution, the Nanticokes were prevented from the right to sell or lease their land.[38]

Despite these protective measures, the abuse and disregard of the Nanticokes' right to occupy the reservations continued. In some instances diverse "Trespassers and Wasters" destroyed Indian land "by falling, mauling, and carrying away the Timber off from such Land, and refus[ing] to pay and satisfy the said Indians for the same."[39] In violation of the laws passed by the Maryland Assembly, some people rented and settled on Indian land, and then failed to pay the agreed upon rent. While certain individuals clandestinely purchased the land from the Indians and built farmsteads, others simply squatted on the land and assumed ownership by right of occupancy. In 1759 a delegation of the remnants of several tribes assigned to reservations on the Eastern Shore informed Governor Horatio Sharpe that they were severely reduced in number, suffering from a shortage of food, and being forced from their land. The Indians appealed to Sharpe to consider the "Pitiful Scituation and Condition if we cannot have the freedom and Privilege which we were allowed of in Antient Times."[40]

Although they tried to reside within the confines of the reservations, the Indians were repeatedly thwarted in their efforts by land-hungry whites. While venturing forth into the woods to hunt and build cabins for shelter, the Indians recounted, "some of the White People when we go out of them will set them on fire and burn them down to the ground and leave us Destitute of any Cover to Shelter us from the weather."[41] One incident vividly portrays the conflict between the

38. *Arch. Md.*, 29: 20.

39. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), 1756 Chapter 9, "An Act for Quieting the Differences that have arisen, and may hereafter arise, between the Inhabitants of this Province and the several Indian Nations, and for Punishing Trespassers on their Land."

40. *Arch. Md.* 31: 356.

41. Ibid.

Indians residing on reservations and Englishmen who desired to gain possession of their land. In 1723, Captain John Rider and Isaac Nicholls claimed that they had gained legal possession of a large tract of land on an Indian reservation because they had found the reservation deserted except for one Indian, William Asquash, the son of the late Nanticoke emperor. Testimony established that Rider had physically ousted Asquash and set his cabin on fire, building in turn a clapboard house of his own. The Indians, returning in the Fall of the year, took up residence and burned the house erected by Rider. They testified that Rider had indeed found their towns uninhabited because most of the Indians had "gone out to their hunting quarters according to their usual practice." The Maryland authorities ruled that Rider and Nicholls were trespassers and had no right or title to the land.[42] The argument continually advanced by the Europeans to justify their actions was that the Indian land appeared to be deserted and abandoned. The terms of the reservation grants stipulated that the land reverted to Maryland as soon as the Indians ceased to occupy it. In actuality the Nanticokes had not abandoned the land but were merely following their traditional subsistence strategy of seasonal migration to food resources.

Beginning in the early 1740s several groups of Nanticokes left their homes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and emigrated to Pennsylvania. An attempt by the French to unite the various tribes in Maryland and Pennsylvania in an uprising against the English settlers prompted the Nanticokes to abandon the Eastern Shore. In 1742, after a century of abuse, hostility, and misunderstanding, the Nanticokes agreed to participate in this revolt. The Indians of the Eastern Shore congregated in a swamp called Winnasoccum along the Pocomoke River to join in a war dance. Fortunately for the Maryland settlers, a Choptank Indian informed the authorities of the pending uprising, and the plot came to an abrupt end. The Maryland Assembly severely reprimanded the Nanticokes for their part in the conspiracy and warned them that "We have it in our Power to take all your Lands from you, and use you as your ill Designer against Us have deserved . . . , but We are rather desirous to use you kindly like Brethren in hopes that it will beget the same kindness in You to Us."[43] Unmoved by this dubious overture of friendship, a delegation of Nanticoke Indians appeared in 1744 before the Maryland authorities and requested permission to leave the province and live among the Six Nations.[44] By 1748

42. *Arch. Md.* 34: 522; and 35: 267, 369. A similar situation developed when Roger Fowler built a farm on the Chicony Reservation. The Maryland Assembly ordered Fowler to remove from the reservation land. The Choptank Indians indicated that "the English have Very much Incroached upon them in Settling within the Bounds of their Land at Choptank so that they are now Drove into a small narrow neck called Locust Neck." *Arch. Md.* 33: 311–312.

43. *Arch. Md.* 28: 257–70 for a complete account of the plot. Also, Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*; and idem, "The Nanticoke Indians in Early Pennsylvania History," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (October 1943): 345–55.

44. *Arch. Md.* 28: 338–39.

Nanticoke Migration, 1748–84

a majority of the Nanticokes had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, while another group established a village at Chenango near present day Binghamton, New York. Soon after constructing a village at Juniata, delegates from the Nanticokes and several other tribes complained to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania that Whites "were Settling & design'd to

Settle the Lands on the Branches of Juniata." The delegates insisted on their removal because this was the hunting ground of the Nanticokes and other Indians living along the Juniata. Within a short time the Nanticokes moved to Wyoming Valley only to be forced out in 1755 with the outbreak of hostilities during the French and Indian War. By 1765 they had temporarily resided at Oswego, Chugnut, and Chenango in New York. From New York the remnants of the Nanticoke tribe settled in Canada and came completely under the dominance of the Six Nations. This resulted in their being virtually denationalized by the Iroquois (see map).[45]

Charles M. Johnston, in his documentary study of the Six Nations at Grand River Reservation in Ontario, argues that the number of Nanticokes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was negligible when contrasted with the population of the Six Nations, thus relegating the tribe to a minor role in political affairs and the economy.[46] The following census figures reflect the small number of Nanticokes living on the Grand River Reservation:

1785	11
1810	9
1811	10
1813	2
1843	47

An equally small number apparently returned to Maryland in the early 1850s where they claimed five thousand acres of land reserved for them by the Maryland Assembly.[47]

45. For an extended treatment of the migration of the Nanticokes from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to Canada see Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians*. "The 6 nations after conquering the Delawares removed them & gave them Lands to plant & hunt on at Wyoming & Juniata, on Susquehanna, but the Pennsylvanians, covetous of Lands made plantations there & spoiled their hunting grounds." "The French to whom they were drove back took advantage of it, & told them tho the French built trading houses on their Land they did not plant it . . . , but the English planted all the country, drove them back so that in a little time they wou'd have no land." L. Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1954), 302. "But now the Lands all round them being settled by white People," wrote one Pennsylvania official, "their hunting is spoiled And they have been long advised by the Six Nations to leave the place and go higher up the River and Settle either at the Mouth of Conodogwinnet, Chiniotta or up at Shamokin." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* 4 vols. (Harrisburg, 1851), 4: 656–57. Also, *Arch. Md.* 25: 338–39.

46. Charles M. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations. A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands on the Grand River* (Toronto, 1964), xl, 52, 203n, 281, and 307. Frank G. Speck visited the remaining Nanticokes living among the Iroquois in the 1920s. *The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources*; in *Historical Study* (Wilmington, 1927).

47. *Report of the Select Committee on the Claims of the Nanticoke Indians made to the House of*

The northward movement of the various Nanticokes demonstrates how the process of amalgamation with other tribes and migration away from the increasing presence and encroachment of Europeans was a significant factor enabling them to withstand and survive culture contact. Primary sources abound with references to displaced tribes applying for asylum and being granted land. William Byrd of Virginia recognized that many of the Indian tribes were forced to band together because they were not "Separately Numerous enough for their Defence."[48] Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post observed in the Iroquois policy of accepting into their territory refugees from other tribes another form of amalgamation.

> They settle these New Allies on the Frontiers of the white People and give them this as their Instructions. "Be Watchful that nobody of the White People may come to settle near you. You must appear to them as frightful Men, & if notwithstanding they come too near, give them a Push. We will secure and defend you against them.[49]

The Nanticoke, for many years harassed by the Iroquois of central New York and suffering from encroachments by whites, ultimately found refuge among their former enemies the Iroquois rather than the whites who occupied their land. Frank G. Speck noted that the "political idealism of the Iroquois League, harsh though the methods may have been, showed forth in the policy of adopting subjugated peoples and giving them complete freedom besides inviting them to reside in their midst."[50] There existed, however, a negative aspect to the process of amalgamation. Because of the dispersion of the Nanticoke, and through their

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Delegates (Annapolis, 1853). This group of Nanticokes came from Canada to seek compensation for their land in Maryland. "We are driven back," lamented one of their aged warriors, "until we can retreat no further. Our hatchets are broken, our bows are snapped, our fires are nearly gone out. A little longer and the white man will cease to pursue us, for we shall cease to exist." After reviewing the claims of the Nanticokes, the committee concluded: "Our forefathers dealt justly with the Indians—Maryland never failed in any of her obligations; but, always friendly, shielded under her protecting wing, the red men of the forest; and, finally, when they determined to leave our borders, and remove with the bones of their ancestors to a distant home, paid all that was required, and thus our forefathers and theirs parted friends."

48. John S. Bassett, ed., *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.* (New York, 1901), 245. For an extended treatment of this topic see Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure Among the Northeastern Indians, 1600–1830," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957): 301–27.

49. Pennsylvania Archives 1758–1759, Frederick Posts's Papers, Delivered with his Journal, 19th Jany 1759, Manuscripts Department, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

50. Frank G. Speck, *Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), 3.

association with other refugee tribes, they lost much of their traditional culture by merging their customs, blood, and later their language with the other Indian groups.

Nearly two decades after a majority of the Nanticokes had departed from the Eastern Shore they initiated proceedings to sell their remaining land in Maryland. Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies, corresponded with Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1767, requesting him to give the Nanticokes "all the Assistance and protection you can, and direct how their rights there are to be disposed of."[51] Although Governor Sharpe indicated that he could not proceed with this matter until the Assembly convened, the following year the Maryland Assembly passed "An Act for Granting to the Nanticoke Indians a compensation for the lands therein mentioned."[52] The Nanticokes received $666.66 in exchange for relinquishing their claim to any land in the province of Maryland.

A remnant group of Choptank Indians, often mistaken by many later observers as Nanticokes, continued to live on their reservation land. In 1798, the Maryland Assembly appointed Henry Waggaman, William B. Martin, James Steele, Moses Le Compte, and William Marbury as commissioners to purchase the land belonging to the Choptanks residing in Dorchester County. They were ordered "to repair to the Indian settlement near Secretary's Creek, in Dorchester county, and to contract, covenant, and agree . . . with the Choptank Indians inhabiting the said settlement, for the purchase of the right, title and interest of the said Indians, to all and singular the lands and tenements aforesaid. . . . There shall be reserved to the said Indians, for their own cultivation and improvement, a quantity of the said land, not exceeding one hundred acres, to be laid off by the said commissioners as to include their present settlements, and a suitable proportion of the woodland." Finally in 1801 the Maryland legislators assumed control of the remaining Choptank land after Molley Mulberry died without leaving any descendants.[53] Even though the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians had relinquished their land in Maryland, several families of Indian descent remained on the Eastern Shore.

The reaction of an aboriginal people to the presence and culture of an intrusive and colonizing people is, to a certain degree, conditioned by their cultural

51. *Arch. Md.* 32: 209–11.

52. *Arch. Md.* 14: 471, 512.

53. The fate of the Choptank Indians parallels that of the Nanticokes. After they sold the last parcel of their reservation land, and with the death of Mary Mulberry, the Choptanks ceased to exist as a tribal entity. One should not discount, however, the possibility that some of the individual Choptanks joined with other remnant groups on the Eastern Shore, but lost their identity within the broader collective assortment of Indians. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1817), vol. 3, 1801, Chapter 101.

background, their present political, social and economic organization, the degree of their cultural self-sufficiency, and their population numbers.[54] Conversely, the attitude and reaction of the intruding culture towards an aboriginal people is influenced by their immediate objectives: exploration, conquest, colonization, or exploitation. Also important is whether the indigenous people are part of an integrated village with tribal organization under the control of a headman or chief, or if they are semi-nomadic and food-gatherers with no settled villages, permanent gardens, and centralized political authority. In the latter case the intruders often perceive that these individuals are less than human and thus possess no culture. For this reason they are unlikely either to recognize, let alone respect, native ways, customs, beliefs, and values, or to adjust to them their method of economic, administrative, or spiritual invasion. From the intruder's point of view any adaptation or change in such an instance must be all on one side: that of the aboriginal culture.[55]

In the case of the aboriginal population of the Chesapeake Bay region, the Jesuit missionaries hoped to ameliorate through conversion the spiritual and ideological values of the Indians, while the traders and settlers sought to aggrandize their positions by altering the economic base of the Indians by encroachment on their land and through the introduction of material goods dependent on a foreign technology. Although the Nanticokes and other tribes in Maryland possessed a sophisticated political organization with a centralization of authority, had devised a variety of economic adjustments to their habitat, and were able to satisfy all of their basic needs by a combination of food-gathering, hunting, fishing, and agriculture, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Indians in Maryland had decreased significantly.[56] In order to protect their habitat the Nanticoke and other tribes had sought legal council, waged war, and resigned themselves to reservations, but to no avail. As a final means of accommodating the Europeans and preserving some semblance of their traditional culture, individual families of Nanticokes began, as early as 1722, to leave Maryland; and by 1748 a majority of the tribe had removed to the Juniata River and Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. In 1768 they sold their remaining land in Maryland.

One of the most significant consequences stemming from the contact between

54. A. P. Elkins, "Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia," *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951): 164–86. For an older, but still insightful treatment of culture contact see Earl E. Muntz, *Race Contact* (New York, 1927); Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York, 1938); and Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum on Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149–52. A more recent perspective is Edward H. Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change* (Chicago, 1961).

55. Elkins, "Reaction and Interaction," 165.

56. Robert L. Stephenson, Alice L. L. and Henry G. Ferguson, *The Accokeek Creek Site: A*

the Nanticokes and European settlers was the dramatic decline of their population. Raphael Semmes, in his study of aboriginal Maryland from 1608 to 1689, calculated the total aboriginal population to be 6,500. James Mooney, estimating the aboriginal population of America north of Mexico, noted the following for Maryland:

Maryland	*1600*	*1907*
Conoy or Piscataway, Patuxent, etc.	2,000	Extinct
Tocwogh and Ozinies	700	Extinct
Nanticoke, etc.	1,600	80 (7) mixture
Wicomico	400	20 (?) mixture

According to John Smith, the Nanticoke in 1608 numbered between two and three thousand. In 1730 the Reverend David Humphreys observed that "the number of the native Indians did not exceed 120, who had a small Settlement on the utmost Border of the Parish, where it adjoins to Maryland."[57] In 1756 it was estimated "that there are about 140 Indians in Maryland who reside in the populous parts of the Country on several Tracts of Land that have been reserved for their Use since the English first settled here, these domestic Indians are well inclined and live in good Harmony with the Inhabitants."[58] James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, in their

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Middle Atlantic Seaboard Culture Sequence, Anthropological Papers Museum of Anthropology University of Michigan, no. 20 (Ann Arbor, 1963); Henry T. Wright, *An Archeological Sequence in the Middle Chesapeake Region, Maryland*, Archaeological Studies no. 1 (Baltimore, 1973); Regina Flannery, *An Analysis of Coastal Algonquian Culture*, Catholic University of America Anthropological Series, no. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1939); and Daniel R. Griffith, "Ecological Studies of Prehistory," *Proceedings of the 6th Annual Middle Atlantic Archeology Conference* (1975): 30–38. Although there has been no significant research performed on the introduction and consequences of Old World diseases in Maryland, the following citations provide a general background on this subject. S. F. Cook, "Demographic Consequences of European Contact with Primitive Peoples," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 237 (1945): 107–111; Ernest Canfield, "Early Measle Epidemics in America," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*,15 (1943): 531–56; D. J. Davis, "Early Plagues and Pestilences of the Peoples who First Came to America," *Illinois Medical Journal*, 102 (1952): 288–92; and G. Sticker, "Epidemics Brought to the New World by White Conquerors," *Reuista de Higiene y de Tuberculosis* 24 (1931): 78–83. For a broad synthesis of this theme see Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972).

57. James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 80 (Washington, D.C., 1928), 6; and Raphael Semmes, "Aboriginal Maryland, 1608–1689. Part Two: The Western Shore," *MdHM*, 24 (1929): 195–209. Also David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1730), 159–168.

58. *Arch. Md.* 31: 146.

article on the Nanticoke in the *Handbook of American Indians*, stated: "the majority of the tribe, in company with remnants of the Mahican and Wappinger, emigrated to the W. about 1784 and joined the Delaware in Ohio and Indiana, with whom they soon became incorporated, disappearing as a distinct tribe. A few mixed-bloods live on Indian r., Delaware."[59] By the close of the eighteenth century there was a general consensus, although later proved inaccurate, that no Indians remained in Maryland.[60]

59. [James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas], "Nanticokes," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 30 (Washington, D.C., 1910), 24–26.

60. For a discussion of the remnant Nanticoke tribe see Frank G. Speck, "The Nanticoke Community of Delaware," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian*, Heye Foundation, 2 (1915); C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk: The Story of the Moors & Nanticokes* (Philadelphia, 1943); and Frank W. Porter III, "Anthropologists at Work: A Case Study of the Nanticoke Indian Community," *American Indian Quarterly* 4 (1978): 1–18.

Author's Note

When I wrote "A Century of Accommodation," little did I realize the journey I was about to take. In the 1970s, people living in the eastern United States were unaware of the Native American communities living in their midst. They had read about the "forgotten Indians." They had heard stories about the "last" Indian to die in their state. When the Passamaquoddy tribe of Maine filed a lawsuit against the state for violation of treaty rights, it quickly brought to light the presence of non-recognized tribes throughout the United States. The Passamaquoddy, able to force the federal government to represent them, successfully settled out of court. Other tribal groups promptly filed similar lawsuits against not only the individual states but also the federal government.

To institute some measure of control, the Bureau of Indian Affairs created the Federal Acknowledgment Project, which allowed each group to petition for federal recognition. Seven criteria were established. The petitioning process was a formidable undertaking. The National Indian Lutheran Board and I created the American Indian Research and Resource Institute to assist these tribes with the preparation of their petitions.

The Nanticoke Indians of Delaware were eligible to pursue federal recognition. To their credit, they decided instead to direct their energy into improving the social cohesion and economic welfare of their community. The Nanticoke Indian Powwow, which has been held for nearly a century, offered a means to generate funds to create among other things the Nanticoke Indian Museum. The annual Homecoming provided an opportunity for friends and relatives to return home and renew friendships and family ties.

The perseverance and unfaltering efforts of tribal leaders and members of the community through time are a testament to the sense of identity of the Nanticoke people. I was privileged to be allowed to be a part of this process. My life was enriched by the experience, and I am indebted to the friends made along the way.

The Story of Thomas Cresap, A Maryland Pioneer

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

In the early part of the eighteenth century, probably about the year 1717, there came to his Lordship's Province of Maryland one Thomas Cresap, a Yorkshire lad of about fifteen years of age, a typical Englishman of that yeoman class which hewed the forests and built the roads of colonial America. With no assets save health, a rudimentary education, and a passion for the acquisition and development of land, he was destined before his long life should close to play an active and sometimes an important part in that drama of the wilderness out of which arose an empire. Without many of the gifts of greatness, headstrong and frequently violent in word and deed, he none the less bulks large among the minor characters in the life of Maryland of the eighteenth century, and although some may question the value of his services to province and state, no one will deny the interest he has for us as a figure of almost unequalled picturesqueness among his contemporaries in that day of uncertainty and conflict.

None of us can resist the appeal of the pioneer, the bare armed David who goes forth with astonishing cheerfulness, and little else, against the Goliath of the wilderness and its savage people. If the spiritual glory of the British peoples is to be found in the self-immolation of a Livingstone, and the intellectual in the humanity of the mind of Shakespeare, it is among the pioneers that we must look for the highest development of that material side of their activities, which, after all may show itself to future ages as their highest achievement. Somehow, out of the alembic of mighty endeavor, crude living, fighting and intrigue, is etherealized that unwritten epic of accomplishment which will remain as the great record of the English-speaking races when their names are a legend in the lands where now they sit enthroned.

For the early part of the life of Thomas Cresap, we have no accessible source of information except that which is contained in the uncritical second chapter of the biography[1] of his son, Captain Michael Cresap, a defense of that maligned border warrior and hero of the Revolution by the Rev. John J. Jacob, a Methodist minis-

1. Jacob, John J., *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of the late Captain Michael Cresap.*

This article first appeared in volume 9 (1914). Lawrence C. Wroth (1884–1970) worked as a librarian for the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the John Carter Brown Library in Virginia. His books include A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686–1776 *(1922),* The Colonial Printer *(1931), and* The American Bookshelf *(1934).*

ter who grew to manhood in the Cresap establishment. This author, who married the widow of Michael, is concerned with Thomas Cresap only as the father of his hero, on which account he has recorded merely those parts of his life which had come to him as matters of family remembrance, and of his own acquaintance in early life with him whom the Indians called the "English Colonel." He avoids the mention of a date in this chapter as though it were a symbol of destruction, and although he tells us that Thomas Cresap was born at Skipton in Yorkshire, it is necessary to go to a deposition made by our hero in Maryland in 1732 to find that he there describes himself as "about thirty years" of age.[2] As far as is known, there is no other authority than Jacob for giving fifteen years as his age at the time of emigration, and even that source of information is barren as to the facts of his life from this period until his marriage about ten years later to a Miss Johnson, who lived apparently in Baltimore County near the spot now occupied by the town of Havre de Grace.

Shortly after the marriage here spoken of, misfortune came upon Cresap in the form of a financial stringency so severe that in order to avoid a judgment of nine pounds currency, he fled into the neighboring province of Virginia. Here, these are incidents from Jacob's slight sketch, he rented a farm from a member of the Washington family, and was so encouraged by his prospects that he shortly returned to Maryland for the purpose of moving thence his wife and what small belongings were left to him. But for once our masterful youth found himself acting a minor part in the drama of his life, and he who in later years was to become the "Maryland monster" to his neighbors in Pennsylvania, and who was to be known far and wide as an Indian fighter and regarded justly as a stumbling-block in the onward path of French empire was in this domestic interlude forced to surrender to a woman's wish. Mrs. Cresap, lately become a mother, refused to move, and the doughty Thomas must needs find means to satisfy his creditors and remain in Maryland.

The story of extreme poverty here given substantially as told by Jacob seems at variance with the fact that only a year later in 1729, Cresap bought from one Stephen Onion a tract of land called Pleasant Garden[3] in the extreme north of the province. This farm, only partly cleared at the time of purchase, lay on the west or York county bank of the Susquehanna, near a place where John Wright and his son John, Quakers of that neighborhood, conducted a crude ferry, at the terminals of which early grew the thriving towns now known as Wrightsville and Columbia.[4] In the various documents of the Pennsylvania Archives of the next seven or eight years, there occur many expressions which warrant the reader in feeling

2. *Council Proceedings*, 1732.
3. *Calvert Papers.*
4. Bump, C. W., *Down the Historic Susquehanna.*

that the Pennsylvanians at least were of the opinion that Cresap was secretly aided in the purchase of this land by the Maryland government, on the condition that he hold it for his Lordship against all comers, particularly against the authorities of the northern province. It is certain that concessions[5] in the matter of quit rent and caution money were contemplated by Lord Baltimore in favor of all who should take up land on this border under a Maryland patent. And it is also a matter of record that very soon after Cresap had settled on the most northerly tract held under a Maryland patent, he received from Annapolis commissions to act as justice of the peace and captain of militia.[6]

Whether or not these facts justify the conclusion that Cresap was a secret agent of the Maryland authorities is a matter of opinion. At any rate he went to work in a most business like fashion at the task of clearing and planting his land, and building a clap-board house to shelter himself and an increasing family. Despite his dangerous position, he seems to have built fair hopes for a rapid advance of his fortunes under the new conditions. But alas for his well laid plans! For fifty years previous to this time there had been raging a bitter war of words between the Baltimores and the Penns as to the true northern boundary of the province of Maryland, and when Cresap took up land under a Maryland patent and turned, it must be confessed, an arrogant face to the people and officers of the Pennsylvania allegiance, he focussed upon himself the hatred of more than a generation, a sullen hatred which until this time had been content to express itself without the aid of gun or cudgel.

It is not necessary to do more here than to recall the principal features of this long contest for territory between the Calverts and the Penns. In the charter given to Sir George Calvert and confirmed to his son Cecilius by the first Charles, it was expressly stated that the northern boundary of the grant should be the fortieth degree north latitude. William Penn and his sons after him, desiring an outlet for their province by way of the Chesapeake, advanced a variety of curious and some very plausible claims for a southern boundary of Pennsylvania which should run anywhere from twelve to twenty miles south of the fortieth degree. The frankness and good faith of the Penns in this matter is decidedly open to question, although historians of the province which bears their name have been quick to defend them against any imputation of dishonesty or sharp practice, and indeed it would seem that some of the defamation of their characters which Maryland writers have engaged in is without foundation in recorded fact. But any one who gives careful study to the contest will agree with an unprejudiced historian[7] who writes the following sentences:

5. *Calvert Papers.*
6. *Pennsylvania Archives.*
7. Mereness, N. D., *Maryland as a Proprietary Province.*

> "Whatever may be the prevailing opinion as to the character of William Penn, it is clear that in dealing with the Catholic lord proprietor of Maryland, his Quaker principles did not cause the spirit of brotherly love to control his actions. On the contrary, after his strong desire to acquire for his province the command of a suitable water communication with the ocean had made him extremely covetous of the northwestern part of Maryland, he did not scruple to league himself with the unprincipled Duke of York, not only for the purpose of robbing Lord Baltimore of that part of his province, but even—when the Duke became King James II—for making void the Maryland charter."

In 1732, Charles, Lord Baltimore, acting under a misapprehension as to the exact location of Cape Henlopen, signed an agreement with the sons of William Penn whereby he yielded to them all that they had been demanding since the beginning of the controversy by their father in 1681. When Charles learned of the extent of the territory which he had ignorantly and weakly given up, he refused to carry out the terms of his agreement, and the whole question eventually was carried to the High Court of Chancery for settlement. Sitting in this court in 1750, Lord Hardwick decided that the agreement of 1732 should hold, and in 1763 the surveyors Mason and Dixon began to run between the two provinces the boundary line which has ever since gone by their name.

Of course there was a great deal more to the controversy than this. The Baltimores were weak when they should have been strong, and bold when a less aggressive course would have served them better. Relying often merely upon the honesty of their claim, they were outmatched by men who were keenly aware that they had to make out their case, and who regarded no shift or quibble as too small for them to use to advantage. The original point at issue was befogged with a thousand irrelevant details. The contest became involved in certain far-reaching entanglements of English and colonial politics, and a difference between two landed gentlemen in 1681 as to the division line of their estates had become in 1750 a quarrel between two commonwealths for the possession of a principality. To such an extent did a generation in the courts becloud the issue that it is difficult for the layman to keep clearly in mind the several points in contention. But "after all," as a great jurist said in a different connection, "things are what they are, and not other things," and all must agree that 40° north latitude is not 39° 45', nor is Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by any process of conjuring, Philadelphia, Maryland.

This famous controversy has been chronicled definitely in a work accepted and published in 1908 by the legislatures of Maryland and Pennsylvania,[8] in which

8. Maryland Geological Survey, Volume Seven. *Report on the Resurvey of the Maryland-Pennsylvania Boundary.*

appears the "history of the Boundary Dispute between the Baltimores and Penns Resulting in the Original Mason and Dixon Line," by E. B. Mathews of this Society, a monument of fair and unprejudiced historical writing. This monograph is one of the most ambitious and thorough works on any phase of Maryland history, and it has never been fully appreciated, I believe, because of its inclusion in the forbidding dress of a legislative report. The *Penn Breviate,* a contemporary collection of evidence in support of the northern province, is a closely printed volume of several hundred pages, and it presents an apparently flawless array of testimony in favor of the cause which it upholds. The Baltimore case must be studied in the Maryland Archives, the Calvert papers, various court records and ephemeral publications. Dr. Mathews' work has made it unnecessary for any one but the special student to study the original sources, and it has reduced even his labors to a minimum by the inclusion of a bibliography as exhaustive as it is voluminous.

Into the scene of discord caused by this contest entered Mr. Thomas Cresap when he bought the tract called Pleasant Garden and acknowledged the Proprietary of Maryland as his overlord. Cresap himself was not precisely an angel of peace; his hand was fashioned for the cudgel rather than for the olive branch, and what has since been called the "Conojacular War" revolved principally about this aggressive Yorkshireman, who desired nothing so much as to secure and hold a bit of land for himself and his children.

Almost from the beginning Cresap seems to have been in trouble with his neighbors in Pennsylvania, for in 1732 the Governor and Council receive a complaint from Samuel Blunston, a magistrate of Lancaster County, in which he alleges the Marylander to have been guilty of unprovoked ill-treatment of some friendly Indians of the neighborhood. Cresap is ordered to Annapolis[9] and there told by his Excellency that his best policy is to live at peace with the Indians, and that as long as he conducts himself properly, he shall be protected from any insults of the Pennsylvanians. From now on for the next four years his life was to be one of continual embroilment with those of his neighbors who held the Pennsylvania allegiance. Reading the numerous depositions, warrants and letters of the period preserved in the Pennsylvania Archives, one gathers that he was looked upon by Governor Gordon and the other officials, particularly Samuel Blunston, as a blackguard of the worst type, although Governor Ogle of Maryland says in support of a contrary view that Cresap is reported to him as a "very sober and modest person." He was accused of assisting in the escape of fugitives from Pennsylvania justice, of shooting the horses of a Pennsylvanian living near him, and of other misdemeanors of a more or less serious nature, and all the efforts of the Pennsylva-

9. *Council Proceedings,* 1732.

nia officials were directed to his capture and ejectment from the land, which he occupied.

In spite of the ill repute which was his beyond the border, on this side of it, Cresap was regarded as a very useful person to the government, for sometime in the year 1732, or maybe earlier, he was made a justice of the peace of Baltimore County and a captain of militia. In the latter capacity he is sent under orders with a score of armed men to protect a surveyor engaged in the construction of a ferry at a place near where the Wrights had one already in active operation. On this occasion he arouses the wrath of the sheriff of Lancaster County so effectually that a short time afterwards reprisal is made in the form of a night attack upon his house.[10] He is saved from surprise and capture by the active assistance of his wife, who having been stationed at a point where she could watch the river, mounted a horse and after an exciting chase reached her home in time to warn its defenders of the coming of the little army which she had discovered in the act of landing. One of the assailants, a certain Knowles Daunt, receives in the fierce scrimmage which ensues a wound from Cresap's gun from which he later died. His companions, giving up their attempt upon a house so well defended, naively ask Mrs. Cresap for a candle wherewith they may search for the bullet which they know to be somewhere in the wounded man's body, but that unforgiving lady, with reason, one is inclined to think, refuses this aid and adds that she does not care if the bullet is found to be in his heart. Wifely cooperation of the sort here described must have been a comfort to the factious Cresap on this and similar occasions of his life. For the killing of the man Daunt, Cresap stood trial in Maryland and was acquitted of the charge of murder which had been brought against him by the Pennsylvanians.

This attack and others on Cresap and his neighbors were accompanied by threats against all who continued to pay allegiance, or in other words, taxes, to Lord Baltimore. Indeed at one time the Marylanders are disturbed by the rumor that the Indians will be set upon them, but as this means of eviction was never tried, it seems probable that the threat to employ it, which had frightened them thoroughly, was engendered in great measure of rum and enthusiasm. The whole period is a vexed one, with arrests and recriminations now on one side and now on the other, the two governors making respectful representations to each other and their officers using any but respectful means to settle a question which kept the whole countryside in a state of open war.

Again in 1735, Cresap deposes that his enemies have tried to make him prisoner on the open road,[11] and there appears in his sturdy sentences a genuine fear of injury to himself and destruction to his property. The Pennsylvanians seem to have been the aggressors in the greater number of the cases which are recorded,

10. *Council Proceedings*, 1732; *Penn. Archives.*
11. *Council Proceedings*, 1735.

and in one instance Robert Buchanan, high sheriff of Lancaster County, seized and jailed ten or more of Lord Baltimore's tenants. On another occasion this same Buchanan seizes Jacob Loughman, and adds to the indignities which he puts upon his prisoner, by giving his wife a very severe beating for attempting to interfere with the arrest. Loughman's account of the affair furnishes us with a mild amusement and no little gratification in its outcome:

> On the way to jail, says Loughman, "they were met by five Dutchmen. One of the Sherr. Gang asked the Dutch men where they were going. They making no Answer, one of the Sherrs. men struck one of the Dutchmen as they sate on Horse back another lusty Dutchman getts of (sic) his Horse said he could not stand & see that then they immediately all got to Fighting Upon which this Depont. thought he would Assist his Countrymen & went to pick up a Stick when an Irishman Comes behind him & knocked him down with a Club where he Lay he knows not how long but the first Passage this Depont. remembers after Coming to himself was that he see the Sheriff and his Company running away Upon which his Countrymen the Dutchmen looseing their Horses got up and rode after them And in a very little time returned with the High Sheriff of Lancaster Robert Buchanan whom they told this Depont. they had catched and went directly with said Sheriff to Capt. Cresap's."

We cannot doubt that Cresap was glad to see the approach of this polyglot company of warriors, leading a discomfited prisoner and nursing their own broken heads. If a man would live and thrive on his Lordship's northern boundary in 1735, he must have a hard fist and a hard head, with the willingness to use the one and sacrifice the other in whichever cause he espoused.

Very soon after the humiliation of Buchanan recorded in the good Loughman's deposition, on November 24, 1736, to be exact, a more determined siege was laid to Cresap'a house than any of those which had preceded it, and this time the success of the assailants was complete. It would be difficult to tell the story better than did the indignant victim himself as he lay in Philadelphia jail, and made a deposition which found its way into the muniment chest of Lord Baltimore, and today is preserved among the Calvert papers in the vaults of this Society. Hear an injured man tell of his wrongs in sturdy, graphic language, the simplicity of which carries conviction of the narrator's belief in the justice of his cause:

> "On Wednesday the 24th November before sun Rise Samuel Smith Sheriff of Lancaster County with about Twenty four or twenty six persons Armed with Guns Pistolls & Swords Surrounded the house of me the said Cresap wch very much surprised me I being then in Bed. As soon as I Could get out of bed I Demanded of them their Business there or what they wanted, whose

Answer was to me that they Came in Order to Take me & that they had got me in a Cage and would not Depart from thence until they had me Dead or Alive unless I would Surrender my Self a Prisoner to them. My answer was that I would not surrender myself a Prisoner to them, for that as I was in my Own House which I Thought my Castle, Neither the Laws of God or Man would Compell me to Surrender, and Therefore if they attempted to brake into my House they might Depend on my shooting some of them or using my Endeavors so to Do.

I produced some laws to make Appear to them the Ill Consequence Attending Persons breaking in or Offering so To Do or Destroy or Burn Houses, Especially Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, & of which I read some part to them, which they Did not Regard Telling me that they had the Laws of Pennsylvania to Try me by. They seized my Flat & sent some Hands in her Over the River which soon after Returned with Six or Eight and twenty men in her with Rum and Victualls. Upon the Coming of these Men, they & those who came first threatened my Life, presenting their Guns & Pistolls at me & Surrounding my House to the great Terror of me & my family Especially my wife who was very big with Child and fell in Labour with the fright. Soon after my Flat Landed with the persons afd, and that they had Surrounded the House as already mentioned, they fired in at my House & then Drew Off to a small Distance Loaded their Guns, Eat some Victualls and Drank Rum & there continued for about Two Hours still threatening me all the Time, & Came a second time and fired a Volley and then retired again & drank more Rum. At length finding their firing Inefectual they broke into an Out House of mine and Attempted to brake into my Dwelling House, upon which I fired a Pistoll with nothing in it but powder out of my House, which made them to Retire, & then fired a Volley of Shot at the House one shot of which took the Stock of my Gun in the House and went into a Post which was before my body, and by that means preserved me from the Shot which Otherwise would probably have been the Death of me. They afterwards Retired & Charged their Guns and so Continued until Mr. Smout one of the Justices of Lancaster County Came still threatening me, with some others with him upon which Smout Desired I would Surrender myself a Prisoner or that they would burn the House Over my head, he saying that they had a Sufficient Authority from the Propry of Pensilvania & two of the Judges of the Supreme Court for so Doing. My Answer was to him that as I thought I had a good Cause on my side and the Laws of England to protect me that I would not Surrender myself to them or words to that purpose. Whereupon soon afterwards they set my House on fire and the People Scattered about, some about Trees Stumps and other Obscure places until my House was all in a flame; upon which at the Instigation of my wife and Children who Cryed about me,

> Earnestly Desireing & pressing me to go out & let them go Out (my wife being then in Labour) and not perish in the flames, I Opened the Door and let them go out and presently followed them, whereupon Several Guns were fired Several of which Shotts hit me perticularly one in my shoulder, three small shott on my middle finger, and one on my right Eye brow, upon which I made Directly to my Landing, where I kept my Flat, where several persons Came upon me with Guns and Clubs and Knockt me Down, there held me and made me a Prisoner, & soon after I was seized I saw them lead one Loughlin Malone one of my Servants who was with me in my House when it was set on fire, & was by them seated by me in the Flat, and being all of a Gore of Blood I asked him if he was Shott, who replyed that he was. Upon which I asked him where his wound was, who laid his hand on his Belly. Then I asked him who Shott him; whose answer was to me that he Did not know the Man's name but that it was the man I used that Day to Call the Priest. I then asked him if he could show me the Man, whose answer was to me that that was the man (whose name I knew to be David Priest) and Instantly Dyed; upon which they Carryed him out of the Flat and laid him by the Water side and then Carryed me and the Rest of us over the River to John Rosses where they kept us that night and the next Day brought us to New Town in Lancaster County, and the fryday following brought me in Irons with Michael Risner, Miles Foy and Jacob Mathias Minshaw to Philadelphia Prison. In Testimony whereof I the said Thomas Cresap hereunto act my hand and am willing to Depose to the Truth of the Facts herein."

It is necessary to fall back on Jacob's narrative here if we are to follow Cresap during the few days intervening between his capture and his imprisonment in Philadelphia jail. According to him the gruesomeness of this night of battle, pillage and murder was somewhat relieved by a trick which Cresap played on his captors in their passage of the river.

> "They tied his hands behind him, and were pushing across the river with their herculean prisoner watched and guarded by a man on each side; but our old Yorkshire hero, seizing a favorable opportunity, elbowed one of his guard overboard into the river. The night being dark, the Pennites thought it was Cresap in the water, and fell upon him randum tandum with theix poles; but poor Paddy—he was an Irishman—not pleased at all with this sport, made such lamentable cries that discovering their mistake, they hoisted him out of his cold bath."

It is permitted us to hope that this was the same Irishman who on another occasion stole up behind our friend Loughman and clubbed him into insensibility.

When the victorious Pennsylvanians reached Lancaster, they proceeded at once to shackle their prisoner, an indignity to which he submitted quietly until the work was finished, then, raising his iron bound wrists he brought them down upon the head of the smith and stretched that worthy on the ground. It was no wonder then, with the news of this and his other deeds of hardihood fresh in their recollection, that the entire population of Philadelphia turned out to see the "Maryland monster," as he was led in triumph into that city. One in the crowd asked him jocularly what he thought of Philadelphia, to whom he replied with a rather splendid bravado, "Why, this is the finest city in the Province of Maryland." There was surely a high, undaunted spirit in Thomas Cresap.

After the burning of Cresap's house, the Governor and Council petitioned[12] the King to put an end to "This Proceeding by Fire and Sword to establish the Bounds which are now in Dispute before the high Court of Chancery." They state very strongly the case of Thomas Cresap, a Magistrate, whose house had been burned by these "outrageous People," and one of his men killed and others wounded, and they are amazed at the refusal to release the prisoner on the ground that he "had been guilty of a former Murder," a very extraordinary contention, in the opinion of the Council, in view of the fact that some years ago when the Pennsylvanians attacked Cresap, he "in Defence of his House fired a gun, and shot the Deceased in the Leg or Thigh of which Wound he dyed; for this fact the Owner of the House was brought to his Tryal in this Province; and the late Governor of Pensilvania was so sensible of this being the Truth of the Case, that he often declared the Owner of the house ought not to be accountable for that Mans Death." The Council in view of these circumstances pray to his Majesty for his royal interposition. The King in Council on Aug. 18, 1737, orders[13] that the two proprietaries make no more grants of land in the disputed territory, and that they do not "permit or Suffer any Tumults, Riots, or other Outrageous Disorders to be Committed on the Borders of their respective Provinces."

Both sides were well tired of the recourse to arms by this time, and the king's injunction was regarded as a good excuse for the cessation of open hostilities, although the few months following Cresap's capture saw numerous arrests, and one forced entry of a Pennsylvania jail with the consequent delivery of its Maryland prisoners. The territory remained in legal dispute for fourteen years after this, when as has been told, the Chancellor's decision of 1750 settled it for all time. The superior energy and legal assistance of the Penns unquestionably enabled them to present to the High Court the better case in a purely legal sense, but any man unaffected by the spirit of partisanship will agree with those who affirm the

12. *Council Proceedings*, 1736/37.
13. *Council Proceedings*, 1737.

essential truth and justice of the Maryland claim as it was originally presented, unclouded by the technicalities of nearly a century of litigation.

It is said that the Pennsylvanians were willing to release Cresap after he had been a few weeks in custody, but we are told that the "Maryland Monster" declined his freedom until his case should have been taken into cognizance by the King.[14] Accordingly, so the story runs, the Philadelphians had an unwelcome guest in their house of detention for nearly a year, when, the King having issued his order of 1737, he consented to be set free and to return to his wife and children, who had been cared for all this time by some friendly Indians in the neighborhood of his home on the Susquehanna.

Cresap's next venture bespeaks him a man of unquenchable spirit. In common with other thousands of his day he had heard dimly the yet unspoken words of Greeley—"Young man, go west." Instead of weakly complaining of his misfortunes, he gathered what utensils and stock were left to him, loaded his family upon a wagon and set out for the land beyond the Blue Ridge, where Mr. Daniel Dulany the elder, and others were succeeding in attracting settlers to lands in the Cumberland Valley, which they leased or sold on a system of easy mortgages. In addition to a valuable farm called Long Meadows which he obtained, probably in this way, from Mr. Dulany, Cresap borrowed from him 500 pounds currency and settled down in the midst of a growing population of English and German settlers, determined once more to secure for himself a home and a fortune.[15]

Here then in the rich Cumberland Valley, at a place on the Antietam about two miles from Hagerstown, Captain Thomas Cresap, one time magistrate in Baltimore County, built him a stone and log house over a generous spring, and loopholed its walls for defense against those bands of Indians, which still, in war and in peace, made that beautiful sparsely timbered valley their highroad from north to south. By entering into trade with these people, Cresap hoped to build up a thriving business in furs, and in this manner add to the income from his farming operations. But once more a perverse fate turned its back upon the advancement of his fortunes. His first consignment of pelts was sent to England in a vessel which by mischance fell in with a French frigate, and as one result of the encounter, Mr. Cresap was for a third time insolvent. He discharged his debt to Mr. Dulany in the mysterious fashion common to bankrupts in that day and this, collected his stock and implements, once more loaded his family upon a wagon and for the third and last time turned his face toward the west. The foundations of his house on the Antietam remained in Scharf's time as the basis of a later super-

14. Jacob, J. J., *Biog. Sketch of Capt. Michael Cresap.*
15. Jacob, J. J., *Biog. Sketch. of Capt. Michael Cresap.*

structure, and the visitor to Hagerstown is motored out the Marsh Pike and shown Cresap's House or Cresap's Fort, frequently by people to whom its builder is but a name.[16]

This is our last sight of Cresap for a period of two or three years. We know, however, that he settled himself and his family at a place called Shawanese Old Town, an abandoned Indian village, situated on the Potomac in the present Allegany County about fifteen miles southeast of Cumberland, directly opposite Green Spring Station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at that time the farthest west of any of the Maryland settlements. Here, re-naming the place Skipton after the village of his birth in England, which in its topography it somewhat resembled, he built a strongly stockaded house, and by trading, farming and cattle raising, he succeeded in acquiring, before many years had passed, a large landed estate and no small measure of that prosperity which fortune had denied him in his former ventures.

It is well to state at once that the chief personage on the western border of Maryland from 1740 until the final capture of Fort Duquesne by General Forbes in 1758 was no other than Colonel Thomas Cresap. This eminence in the perplexed affairs of the border may be attributed to two causes, the first of which was a certain aggressiveness of spirit and efficiency of mind and body which seemed inevitably to attract him to the very center of action, no matter where he might be. If in connection with these personal characteristics the strategic nature of the situation in which he now found himself is considered, the reason is clear why the Sharpe Correspondence, the Dinwiddie Papers, the Maryland Archives and other contemporary documents are found to be rich in references to this venturer who could be frightened away from his western stronghold neither by the hostility of the Indians nor by the mandates and threats of the French, then in the flush of imperial extension of their territory.

If a war party of the Six Nations wished to go southward to battle with their southern enemies, their easiest path led them from New York along the eastern slope of the Laurel Hills and so through Pennsylvania into Maryland at the point occupied by Cresap, whose house on the Potomac thus became a rendezvous for them and marked a stage in their journey. Moreover if they were not in too great force, they could count on receiving food from the famous great kettle of the hospitable frontiersman, whom they designated on this account as "Big Spoon." When in later years Virginian settlers began to press into the Ohio region, following the lines of easiest travel, they found it more desirable to cross the Potomac somewhere near Cresap's house and so on to the Monongahela by the road which he had blazed in that direction than to struggle over mountain ranges beset with

16. Scharf, J. T., *History of Western Maryland.*

every difficulty known to man and beast. Therefore, whether you were a hungry Indian travelling north and south in paint and feathers, or the surveyor George Washington working to the west with rod and transit, Cresap figured largely in your calculations, and his house with its rude comforts cried "hasten" to your weary bones.

It was a motley company which gathered around the "English Colonel" in his fastness on the Potomac. In 1750 Christopher Gist writes[17] that he found in Logstown, a village on the Ohio about seventeen miles below Pittsburgh, "a Parcel of reprobate Indian Traders." He found also good Indians and bad Indians, and a day or two later he came upon George Croghan and Andrew Montour, and these—the traders, Gist, the Indians, Croghan, Montour, Trent, Conrad Weiser, Washington, Braddock, Nemacolin and the Half King, each of them a distinct type in an age and place rich in types, were all known to Cresap and frequent visitors at his house. They were an interesting group typical of the conditions which bred them, and a word or two about some of them, showing their relations with the subject of this sketch, will not be out of place in these pages.

Christopher Gist, without doubt a very worthy man, one does not altogether admire and like. Sharpe found him worse than useless in a certain exigency of the French war,[18] and he was always unfriendly to Cresap, who, according to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, quarreled with him in a very bitter fashion. Says our informant in a letter to Colonel Fairfax, I "am sorry for the difference between Gist and Cresap; the former has shown me some unmannerly Affidavits swore to in M'yl'd, and I believe Cresap is a person of hot Resentm't and great Acrimony."[19] Gist, however, was a bold explorer and surveyor whose activities in opening the Ohio country to settlement must always be noted in any consideration of that interesting story of American expansion. He had that knack, which Cresap never acquired, of winning and holding the confidence of the Indians, and by reason of this and his general intrepidity he became a personage of importance in the service of Dinwiddie, under whom he held a captain's commission, although he was a Marylander by birth and breeding. His journals detailing his widespread explorations in the Ohio country are historical documents of the first value.

During one of Gist's visits to Cresap there occurred an incident which gives us a glimpse of the difficulties of life on that exposed border, and likewise shows the latter to us in one of those fits of temper which seem to have been characteristic of him. In September 1751, Gist writes to Governor Ogle,[20] telling him of a late occasion when a company of Six Nation warriors resting for the night at Cresap's

17. Gist, C. *Journal, etc.,* ed, by W. M. Darlington.
18. Schlesinger, A. M., "Maryland's Share in the Last Intercolonial War," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* June and Sept., 1912.
19. Dinwiddie Correspondence.
20. *Council Proceedings,* 1751.

stockade, very unceremoniously killed a steer and several hogs belonging to their host, and seized a supply of corn, flour and bread. The owner of these commodities, "being in a Passion with them threatened to Shoot among them at Night when they were Dancing a War Dance." He was dissuaded from his purpose after great difficulty, and Gist undertook to negotiate the affair, and succeeded, as the following letter from the Indians to Ogle indicates, in clearing the air for the time being:

> "Brother Tograhogan
>
> We are sorry to find that we are under this Necessity of making this Complaint to you which has happened at a Time when we met a proper Person to be an Interpreter between us and our brother Cresap who has of late Seemed angry with us and we did not know for what and finding he did not give us Victuals so chearfully as usual our Young men went out and killed Sundry of his Hogs at which he flew into a Passion with us—there was a Proper Interpreter who told us that our Brother Tograhogan did not pay for the Victuals which—was Promised to be given us at the Treaty of Lancaster on our Travels to and from War therefore we refer you to the Treaty, and—as the White People has Killed up the Deer, Buffelos, Elks and Bears there is nothing for us to live on but what we get from the White people and having no White People on the Road from Onondago to Our Brother Cresaps house we are often very hungry and Stays three or four days to Rest ourselves and Our Young men very unruly goes into the Woods and kills Our Brother Cresap's Hogs & Sometimes Cattle. Therefore We recommend this to you in hopes you will do us Justice and Provide for us according to the Treaty, which will prevent any differences that may arise between us & your People."

There is abundant testimony in contemporary documents substantiating the accusation here made that the Province of Maryland did not observe the terms of this important treaty made by the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia with the Six Nations in 1744. Indeed the Maryland policy throughout the French and Indian wars was notoriously selfish, but we may not enter here into the political situation which made this inevitable.

Although, as has been said, Cresap seems never to have possessed the trust and confidence of the Indians in at all the same degree as Gist and Conrad Weiser, certain individual Indians, notably the Delaware Nemacolin, were strongly attached to him and his interests. And a few years after the date of Gist's letter to Ogle we find Sharps sending our frontiersman to the Indians as his personal representative, saying that he knows that his ambassador will be welcome because of his known friendship for their nation. On the other hand, nearly ten years before the same date, Conrad Weiser advises the Council of Maryland against sending

Cresap to treat with the Six Nations, because "he is in no favour at all with them, according to what I heard they look upon him as a Man that either wants Wit or Honesty because for his ill Management last Summer in endeavoring to buy Lands of the Warriors (these were their own Words to me)."[21] There is nothing from Cresap in his own defense on this point, and indeed it has been necessary throughout this study of his life to remember that although he is several times accused of sharp dealing in one matter or another, there is never any specific evidence brought forward, and there is always only one side of the story presented. Those astute diplomats of the Long House, for instance, may have had an excellent reason for not wishing to see Cresap, a reason not in the least related to any question of his personal honesty. And it may be well to note here that Conrad Weiser, who warned the Council against the employment of Cresap, was a leading citizen of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the days when that gentleman was the "Maryland Monster" to the people of. the Susquehanna counties.

Weiser[22] was one of those most in touch with Indian affairs in the whole hinterland of the colonies. In the records of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia his name occurs impartially as interpreter and go-between in all Indian affairs of consequence, and this was service of a most important nature, requiring on the part of him who performed it delicacy, tact, boldness and unassailable honesty of purpose. Having left New York at an early age as the result of a historic land dispute, he removed to Pennsylvania, where he became one of the important men of that colony. At one time under strong religious conviction he entered the Adventist monastery at Ephrata, but tiring of that connection he withdrew to secular life and in so doing made for himself many life-long enemies. He was commissioned colonel in 1756, and before and after this date, he was eminently useful to the governors of four provinces in the regulation of their Indian affairs. The name he bore with the Six Nations, Tarachawagon, and the evidences of their affection for him and reliance upon his friendship is preserved in scores of the documents of that day. His memory must be honored as long as men shall retain their interest in those treaties and diplomatic exchanges between the colonists and the Six Nations; that high race of statesmen and warriors.

In 1747, George Washington, then a boy of fifteen years, made a journey into Cresap's country for the purpose of surveying Lord Fairfax's western lands.[23] From his journal it is possible to gather a vivid picture of the scenes and incidents which were the daily life of a boy destined to become one of the great ones of the world, pictures all the more valuable for their quality of unconscious self-revelation. They have in them the epic spirit which shows itself in many different ways in the

21. *Council Proceedings*, 1742.
22. Weiser, C. Z., *Life of Conrad Weiser.*
23. *Washington's Journal,* ed. by. J. M. Toner.

records of conquest and settlement of that western country. Two entries from this journal are of immediate concern to us in this narrative:

> "Monday, March 21st, 1747. We went over in a Canoe & Travell'd up Maryland side all y. Day in a Continued Rain to Collo. Cresaps right against y. Mouth of y. South Branch about 40 Miles from Polks I believe y. worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast."

High water kept the youthful surveyor at Cresap's for the next five days and on Wednesday he writes:

> "Rain'd till about two oClock & Clear'd when we were agreeably surpris'd at y. sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp. We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in y. humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce there manner of Dauncing is as follows Viz, They clear a Large Circle & make a Great Fire in y. middle then seats themselves around it y. Speaker makes a grand Speech telling them in what Manner they are to Daunce after he has finished y. best Dauncer Jumps up as one awaked out of a Sleep & Runs & Jumps about y. Ring in a most comicle Manner he is followed by y. Rest then begins there Musicians to Play ye Musick is a Pot half of Water with a Deerskin Stretched over it as tight as it can & a Board with some Shott in it to Rattle & a piece of an horses Tail tied to it to make it look fine y. one keeps Rattling and y. other Drumming all y. while y. others is Dauncing."

Another character of interest who must have been often at Cresap's stockade in these days was Andrew Montour,[24] the son of Catherine Montour and an Indian of the Six Nations. The celebrated Catherine, known in border history as Madame Montour, was the daughter of a Huron woman and the Comte de Frontenac, who was charged during his governorship of Canada with "debasing the morals of the colony by propagating more than sixty half-breeds." Catherine, however, partook only of the great qualities of her father, for captured by the Senecas in the course of a raid into Canada, she married a half-breed chief of that nation and herself eventually became chieftainess of the Niagara Senecas, whom she ruled until her death in 1752. Her quarter-bred sons, John, Andrew and Henry became firm allies of the English, whom they served in war and peace in a variety of ways, sharing to some extent the fame of Joseph Brant as friends of the white man. Andrew Montour was of real value to Washington, under whom he held a captain's commission in the Fort Necessity campaign, and before this, at the

24. Buell, A. C., *Sir William Johnson.*

Logstown Treaty, he had been most influential in securing the renewal of the ratification of the Indians to the old treaty of Lancaster.

The limits of the writer's space and of his hearer's patience forbid further detailed reference to more of these backwoods types with whom Cresap came into touch in those troublous days on the border. George Croghan,[25] for instance, agent of Indian affairs for Pennsylvania, the friend and helper of Sir William Johnson, was a figure of the first importance in that place and period. He was a pioneer and trader who served the whole English establishment by his influence with the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. The Half King,[26] whose name appears frequently in the records before us, was a Seneca chieftain, who by the practise of his real diplomatic gift engaged and held the Long House to the English in many a crisis. He was the friend and loyal supporter of Washington, who one day conferred upon the proud chieftain the name "Dinwiddie," and pinned on his breast a medal sent by His Excellency of Virginia.

From this digression of persons, it were well to return to a more orderly relation of the events in which Cresap was concerned in various capacities. In the year 1749, the British government chartered a group of gentlemen who had associated themselves for the purpose of exploring and settling a portion of that vast territory called, because of the name of the river which drained it, the "Ohio country." They were given a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers, of which number two hundred thousand were to be settled immediately. The grant was made free from quit rent or tax to the Crown on the condition that one hundred families were settled there within seven years. This was the celebrated Ohio Company,[27] and Thomas Lee, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, Thomas Cresap, George Mason, John Mercer, Robert Dinwiddie and others of equal eminence in Maryland and Virginia were its proprietors. They set to work immediately to carry into effect the purposes for which they were incorporated. Gist was sent on his memorable journey of exploration into the vaguely known region; a store-house, afterwards Fort Cumberland, now the second city in Maryland, was built at Wills Creek; and Cresap was ordered to mark and clear a road from this point to the spot where Redstone Creek empties into the Monongahela, the present site of Brownsville, where another trading post and store-house known as Redstone Old Fort was constructed in 1752. The threatened French War discouraged a steady settlement of the lands, but the fact that a visitor to Cresap's house at Old Town in 1754 found him away from home visiting the Company's settlers on the Ohio, is evidence that the activities of this organization were the point of the wedge that

25. *Washington's Journal,* ed. by J. M. Toner.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Gist's Journal, etc.,* ed. by W. M. Darlington.

entered the wilderness and laid it open to the inrush of emigrants which occurred in the years following the Revolution. After the close of the war with France, the Ohio Company was merged with one formed in London by Thomas Walpole, called the Grand Company, but as the majority of the proprietors of the elder concern did not approve of the change a contest arose between the two which might have remained unsettled to this day save for the War of Independence, which put an end to both organizations and the private exploitation of the domain which they controlled.

It were foolish to applaud the incorporators of the Ohio Company as disinterested patriots intent on extending the bounds of the British dominions. That is not how such things are done. The westward star of empire follows the path of individual self interest, but now and then an individual builds larger than he knows, and is fortunate in being able to serve his own interests and the common weal at the same time. The adventurers of the Ohio Company were of this sort, and we cannot but feel that, land speculators as they were, they yet had a vision of a greater eventuation in that western country than was measured by the material profits which they hoped to obtain from the enterprise.

The achievement of Cresap's life which has been remembered most universally by historians of various sorts is one which must have commended itself to him and his associates in the Ohio Company as a measure of great importance in the prosecution of their plans for the future. I mean the opening of the road, sixty miles in length, from the mouth of Wills Creek across the Laurel Mountains to the junction of Redstone Creek with the Monongahela,[28] a road whereby was formed a means of passage between the Potomac and the Ohio, the settled country of the eastern seaboard and the vast, as yet only dimly realized region of the west, and a road which was to become more important and more deeply saturated with historic interest with every year that passed, and finally as the National Pike to take rank among the famous highways of the world.

To Thomas Cresap and his friend, the Indian Nemacolin, falls the honor of having first blazed this trail and removed some of its most difficult obstructions, for as far as can be learned they did no more than this at the time of which we are speaking. Nemacolin seems to have had in charge the physical labor of the road-making, while Cresap acted as surveyor and overseer. This was in 1749 or 1750, and the story of that road from then until the present day forms an entrancing chapter in the history of the country's development.[29] Gist's Trace, Nemacolin's Path, Washington's Road, Braddock's Road, the National Pike—these are some of the names which it has borne at different times, and it is scarcely necessary to adduce more evidence than these names give of its tremendous importance in the political

28. Jacob, J. J., *Biog. Sketch of Capt. Michael Cresap.*
29. Hulburt, A. B., *Historic Highways—Washington's Road.*

and economic history of the United States. If Waterloo was won on the football fields of England, the American Revolution was fought on the narrow path which Cresap and Nemacolin cleared through the wilderness, for here did Washington learn the ways of war, and here was he trained in the uses of adversity.

In this same year of 1749, the French, stirred to activity by the news of the incorporation of the Ohio Company, prepared to take possession more formally of the empire which lay between their two fastnesses on the St. Lawrence and the Gulf. They claimed as theirs by right of exploration all the country drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, a claim which led them as far east as the summit of the Allegheny Mountains, and which included in its scope the very territory which the Ohio Company now proposed to fill with English settlers.

Late in this year, therefore, the Governor of New France sent southward one Céleron, an officer in his military establishment, with an escort of Canadian Indians, to make claim in the name of France to all the country which lay behind the Appalachian Range from the Lakes to Louisiana. The French method of taking possession was to bury at the mouths of the principal rivers a leaden plate on which was inscribed the date and the circumstances of the claim. Céleron penetrated to the very heart of the Ohio region, burying his plates at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, the Muskingum and other streams emptying into the Ohio. He advanced to Logstown, seventeen miles below Pittsburgh, intending to proceed thence down the Ohio, but from here, his Indians having deserted him, he hastened back to Canada, where the Governor immediately determined upon the construction of a chain of forts along the route of Céleron's journeys a project which was carried out only in part before France ceased to be a factor in American politics.

In January, 1752, Dinwiddie wrote to Cresap a letter which is reproduced here in part because of its interest in several particulars relating to our story:—[30]

> "You herewith will receive the Opinion of the Council in Answer to your Letters. As to making Reprisals for the Robberies done by the French on the Ohio, it is inconsistent with the Laws of Nations, while We are in Peace with France, and your Letter is too general: if you can give a particular account of the Different Robberies, we must apply to the Governor of Canada for Redress; upon his Refusal, we may proceed in another manner.
>
> "I shall be glad (if) Mr. Montour will determine to live in Virginia that we may hereafter have an Interpreter in our own Province on any occasion we may have to do with the Indians and therefore I desire you will prevail with him to be at your House when the Commissioners come to go with the Goods to Loggs Town.
>
> "I have the Success and Prosperity of the Ohio Company much at Heart,

30. *Dinwiddie Correspondence.*

> tho' I have not a Line from any concern'd since my Arrival, but this from you. . . . I shall be glad if you could furnish me with an Account of the several Nations of Indians, their names and numbers of each separate, viz: their fighting Men, Women, and Children, and your Advice how to engage them to the British Interest. . . ."

From the above letter it will be seen that the French were making plain their opposition to the schemes of the Ohio Company, and it appears from this and later letters that Dinwiddie depends very largely upon Cresap for information from the disputed territory. In March, 1754, his apprehensions, aroused by a letter from Cresap and Captain Trent,[31] are so great that he commissions Washington to take one hundred men and proceed immediately to the forks of the Ohio River, the place now known as Pittsburgh, and there to hasten the completion of the fort which the Ohio Company. has already begun.

It is not necessary here to go into the details of this unfortunate campaign. Learning at Wills Creek that the Company's fort had fallen, Washington toiled onward for many weary days along the road which Cresap had marked out, broadening and levelling it for the passage of his guns. He met with a scouting party of the French, attacked them, killed their leader, De Jumonville, and sent back La Force and twenty-one prisoners. This was his only success, for two months later, he was surrounded by a small army of French and Indians under Contrecœur and compelled to surrender and march out from behind the hastily constructed ramparts of Fort Necessity, a bitter defeat for his proud spirit. Cresap took no part in the campaign beyond hurrying to the scene of the De Jumonville engagement at Dinwiddie's order[32] for the purpose of conducting La Force and the other prisoners to Williamsburg.

Alarmed by the fall of the Company's fort, the defeat of Washington and the continued aggressions of the French, Maryland and Virginia were at last to some degree aroused to the danger of their situation, and Sharpe, a man of military training recently come to the governorship of Maryland, was forward in preparation for an offensive campaign on the border. He realized the value of a man of Cresap's experience to his scheme,[33] and from now on, this useful person is to be found in his employment as a commissary agent and scout. In October, 1754, Sharpe was appointed to the command of all the American forces, and with Dinwiddie began immediately to plan a campaign against Fort Duquesne, as the French had named the post captured the previous spring from the Ohio Company. But his plans came to naught, for he soon learned that the French at Duquesne

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Schlesinger, A. M., "Maryland's Share in the Last Intercolonial War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, June and Sept., 1912; Sharpe Correspondence, etc.

were too strong for a successful attack upon them at that time, and he also discovered after several vexatious experiences that the colonies were slow in providing men and money necessary to the success of the expedition. He was forced for these reasons to hold his hand until the arrival of the expected assistance from England, but in the meantime he bestirred himself in strengthening the absurdly situated Fort Cumberland, in buying through Cresap a great quantity of supplies for the sustenance of its garrison, and in general in taking measures for the prosecution of a defensive war in case of the threatened invasion by the French.

Deceived and cheated by former agents, the country people of western Maryland and Virginia were slow to offer for sale the needed provisions, and had it not been for Cresap's activity and his wide acquaintance on the border, the difficulties facing the Maryland governor would have been seriously increased. Cresap purchased some thousands of head of cattle, as well as salted meat and flour, and with these was made the beginning of the depot of supplies at Fort Cumberland which was of the greatest importance to the troops of Braddock in the campaign of the following year. These events occurred in the fall and early winter of 1754.

Although Cresap was very busy in Braddock's campaign of 1755, it was chiefly in the capacity of commissary under Sharpe that his activities found vent. He was brought into personal relations with Braddock, and in one instance at least that we know of, he felt the rough of that exasperated officer's tongue for being behindhand with his supplies for the troops. That contingent of the unfortunate army which took the Virginia route to the rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, crossed the Potomac a few miles below Cresap's house and encamped on or near his property. Braddock himself appears to have spent the night in the house. The extract which follows, from the journal of one of the English officers in his command, is of considerable interest to those who have followed the story of Cresap's life on the border:—

> "May 8th. Ferried over the River into *Maryland;* and March'd to Mr: Jackson's, 8 Miles from Mr. Coxs's where we found a Maryland Company encamped in a fine Situation on the Banks of the Potomack; with clear'd ground about it; there lives Colonel Cressop, a Rattle Snake, Colonel, and a D—d Rascal; calls himself a Frontiersman, being nearest the *Ohio;* he had a summons sometime since from the French to retire from his Settlement, which they claimed as their property, but he refused it like a man of Spirit; This place is the Track of Indian Warriours, when going to War, either to the No'ward, or So'ward He hath built a little Fort round his House, and is resolved to keep his Ground. We got plenty of Provisions, &ca.
>
> The General arrived with Captains Orme and Morris, with Secretary Shirley and a Company of light Horse for his Guard, under the Command of Capt. Stewart, the General lay at the Colonels."[34]

34. Hulburt, A. B., *Historic Highways—Braddock's Road.*

This is not precisely a complimentary account of Colonel Cresap, but beyond saying that it bears the ear marks of a certain insular prejudice not unknown among the English officers of that army, we must pass over without attempt at extenuation the "rattlesnake Colonel" and the "damned Rascal," and note simply the evidence it contains of the importance of the object of these aspersions in all the affairs of the western border of the colonies. There is nothing to show a more active participation on the part of Cresap in the campaign than the continued performance of his duty as one of the chief commissaries of the expedition, but it may be assumed that he continued to make himself useful in this and other ways until the fatal day, when the army, now far distant along the road which he had first laid out, after having conquered a wilderness, was in turn conquered and utterly undone by the savage people of that wilderness.

The defeat of General Braddock threw the whole frontier into a state of alarm which did not subside even with the capture of Duquesne three years later. The western portion of the Province put everything in order for a retreat, which in the true pioneer fashion should be contested at every step. The stockade at Old Town was for a time a haven of safety to the refugees, but before long feeling that his position on the frontier was too much exposed to the forays of the enemy, Cresap made a contested retreat[35] with his family to Conococheague, now known as Williamsport, Maryland, the place where the Conococheague Creek empties into the Potomac. Here he housed his family in a cabin which tradition places on the beautiful Springfield Farm, later owned by General Otho Holland Williams and now a part of the Humrichouse estate. From thence he sallied forth with his sons and others of the neighborhood against the bands of Indians which for two or three years made sporadic raids into the heart of Maryland, rendering necessary the construction of Fort Frederick as a second line of defence to the Province, when in 1756 it was seen that Fort Cumberland was too far from the center of population to be of use in a defensive war.

In one of the encounters between Cresap and the Indian foe, his eldest son Thomas was killed, and in another and later one a negro in his company met a similar fate near the foot of the mountain which from this circumstance has been known to the present day as Negro Mountain. It is probable that Cresap's principal business during this year of 1756, was the waging of defensive and offensive war against the Indians. He appears to have stood his ground at Conococheague when practically the whole countryside had fled to the east of the Blue Ridge.[36]

The French were not strong enough to make any concerted attempt on the colonies. They contented themselves with waiting at Fort Duquesne for the struggle

35. Jacob, J. J., *Biog. Sketch of Capt. Michael Cresap; Sharpe Correspondence, Council Proceedings*, etc.

36. Scharf, J. T., *Hist. Western Md.*

which was coming, the struggle in which the English and the colonists united in such force that the final downfall of the French empire in America was the result. We may not go into the events of the later campaigns further than to notice one or two incidents which show that Cresap continued his activity as commissary, go-between and scout for the united forces of the colonies and the home government.

In June, 1758, Sir John St. Clair writes a letter to Sharpe[37] from which is extracted the passage here given:

> "I am looking out with great Impatience for your Report of the New Road, Last Night I received a Letter from Old Cresop, in which he tells me that he had seen Lieut. Shelby and that a good road may be made in a fortnight. . . I hope the Canteens & Kettles for Colo. Byrds Regimt. have been sent from Conogoee. I have received the Arms from it and they have sent me back the Hatchets by mistake Old Cresop looking upon them as Arms."

There is something not altogether humorous in conditions of life which lead a rational, civilized man to look upon hatchets as arms.

Once more a few years later, just before the close of the long struggle for supremacy in North America, Cresap appears in the Sharpe correspondence in a letter which at the same time that it enlightens his own private history, gives us a passing glimpse into the broader field of Maryland and intercolonial politics. Cresap has written to Sharpe in June, 1762, saying that ten Indian warriors of the Six Nations had come to his house on their way southward to battle with the Cherokees, and had asked for and obtained food from him during their three days' stay. They had told him that three hundred more would be "along this way at the time that Corn was waist high," and he thinks it unreasonable that he should be expected to bear this expense without hope of reimbursement by the Province. As he expresses it to Sharpe, he will have to "enter into them" to protect his property, for they will have provisions by "fair or foul means." He gives this warning as he does not wish to be held culpable if their resentment is directed against the Province.

Sharpe sends the letter to Amherst, and in so doing brings down a storm upon his own troubled head, for the commanding general replies in very plain language. As Maryland has done nothing for the King's service in this war, "I should Imagine," he writes, "that they would at least make Provision . . . . to supply such Friendly Indians as Pass and Repass, with Common Necessaries, that they may Pursue their Intended Plan of Distressing the Enemy; but if they obstinately Refuse to lend the least Assistance towards the Security and Safety of their own People, they must be Answerable for the Consequences; for it is most Unreasonable to

37. *Sharpe Correspondence.*

Imagine, that the Province of Maryland, should, in the midst of an Expensive tho' dust and Necessary, War, Remain Idle Spectators, without giving the least Assistance, whilst the other Colonies are Exerting themselves with a becoming Spirit to Enable His majesty to Reduce His Enemies so as to bring about a Lasting and an Honourable Peace."[38]

Upon the receipt of this rebuke, the Council recommends that Cresap feed the Indians, and produce his account at the next meeting of the Assembly. Sharpe suggests that as Cresap is a member of that body himself, it will be paid the more readily than if he were an outsider. Another letter[39] from the disgusted "Big Spoon" nearly a year later, however, shows us that the Governor had taken a somewhat too sanguine view of the situation, for, says he,

> "I find by their discourse, that as I formerly when I kept Store here, before the War, used to give them a few necessaries as they passed and repassed, and not keeping any Store now nor giving them anything now except Victuals, some evil minded Persons has informed them that I was paid for every thing I gave them, therefore they expect it, as usual. As to any hope that I can have of the Assembly paying me for any thing I give them it is but small, when they have so often refused. If I cannot be paid here, I will apply at Home (as I intend there) where I doubt not I shall have Justice."

Except that he and his neighbors stood a siege by the Indians in the stockade at Old Town,[40] this is the last knowledge we have of Cresap during the period of the French war, but before passing on to events of his later life, it were well to take account of another particular in which some years before this time, he had rendered valuable service to the Province of Maryland. In August, 1753, Baltimore wrote to Sharpe informing him that Virginia had run the boundary line of Fairfax's grant up to the North Fork of the Potomac. Now as the Maryland grant included all the Potomac to its farther bank, only the farther bank of the westernmost fork at its headwaters could be considered as the proper boundary of this province. It was claimed by Baltimore that the head of the South Fork of the Potomac lay farther west than that of the North Fork, and it became necessary to have this fact determined by an actual survey. Accordingly the Governor and Council of Maryland order Cresap to come to Annapolis on business that concerns the "Provincial Bounds on Potowmack," requesting him to bring, in the words of the order, "what Descriptions or other Information you may now have relative to that River and its Several Branches that further Inquiry, if necessary may be directed."

38. *Council Proceedings.*
39. *Sharpe Correspondence.*
40. *Ibid.*

An entry in the proceedings of the Governor and Council a month or so later reads that,

> "Colonel Cresap attending this Board Says that in his Opinion the South Branch of Potowmack is the longest Branch because it continues the biggest Stream as he thinks from the Mouth and runs about Sixty Miles North West further than the North Branch."

Sharpe now receives instruction from Secretary Calvert to bargain with Cresap to explore these sources and map them, and in August, 1754, he speaks of having lately received Cresap's map of the forks of the Potomac. The original of this map is now in possession of this Society, after having been used by the Province and State as indisputable evidence of their claim to the strip of land which was in dispute between Maryland and Virginia, and afterwards between Maryland and West Virginia from 1753 until 1912. Unfortunately neither Cresap's map nor the most conscientious efforts of the Maryland authorities have availed to secure this debatable land to the State, and the Supreme Court decision of 1912 in favor of West Virginia completed what has been called the "dismemberment of Maryland," begun by William Penn in 1681.

In the year 1755, Sharpe speaks of the Assembly trying to find Cresap's accounts as commissary incorrect,[41] but he shows clearly that there is no ground for such action, and says further that he is "apt to think that they will be glad to find him tripping if they can because he has behaved himself on all Occasions as a good Servant to the Govt:" He adds that Cresap's charges for carriage were actually less than those of others, which had been paid without cavil. These words of commendation and defense are introduced here because in the period of his life which we are now approaching, that occupied by the decade preceding the Revolution, the tone of Sharpe's references to Cresap becomes decidedly less friendly, for we shall find the old hero of the border an active patriot supporting in every way the revolt of the colonies against the government of England.

In October, 1765, it is reported to the Council that between three and four hundred men are arming in Frederick Town to march to Annapolis in order to settle the dispute between the two houses of Assembly over the passage of the Stamp Act, and more circumstantially it is added that Colonel Cresap had said in passing through that place that no other means but this would serve. Sharpe communicates this information to the Lower House, which replies regretting the circumstance and expressing its sorrow at the imputation laid on one of its members, that is, Cresap, defending him from it and asking that the charge be examined. Surely the situation has changed since Sharpe a decade before found himself defending Cresap against the imputations of this very body.

41. *Sharpe Correspondence.*

The deposition of Dr. David Ross is taken by the Council in its investigation of the charge against Cresap, and transmitted by Sharpe to the Lower House. Dr. Ross said that lately when he was at Sharpsburgh a paper was handed around which had come express from Colonel Cresap, the substance of which is here given:

> "It expressed a Satisfaction of the Conduct of the Lower House, in Opposing the Stamp Act, and intimated a Reliance that they would Endeavor like the Renowned antient true Roman Senate, to Suppress any future Attempt to deprive them of their Liberty, it also expressed, that the Signers were informed, that a very large unjust Claim in Tobacco, was made against the Public, by a particular Gentleman in Annapolis, preventing the Payment of other just Claims, and desiring that if the said unjust and dishonourable Claim should still be insisted upon, that the Lower House would give speedy Intelligence, in order that the Signers might come down, and cause Justice to take Place . . . it was then said, by some of the Company, that it was one of the Old Colonels Schemes, by whom he understood Colo. Cresap to be meant."

In passing it may be remarked that the conviction forces itself upon us that Cresap was combining a patriotic protest against the Stamp Act with a plan for the collection of his own just and long overdue debts. In communicating Dr. Ross's deposition to the Lower House, Sharpe declares his belief that Cresap was the author of the paper mentioned therein, and asserts that by a proper examination of certain inhabitants of Frederick County, they can "discover how far Colo. Cresap has been instrumental in promoting Measures that have a Tendency to disturb the Public Peace, and to deprive the several Branches of the Legislature of that Freedom of Debating and Judging, which is essential to the Constitution:"

There is not much more that can be said of the remaining years of the life of Thomas Cresap. His name appears during the Revolution in various records of the Council of Safety; he is prominent as a justice of the peace; he has a lawsuit or two; he is concerned as long as he lives in the development of the west, and lends his support to various schemes for the opening of a land or water route in that direction by way of the Potomac;[42] he marries a second wife at the age of eighty; he goes on a journey to Nova Scotia at the age of one hundred, and at last, a veritable patriarch, dies at Oldtown at the great age of one hundred and six years, leaving behind him a number of grand-children whose descendants are broadcast throughout this country.

A much longer atom might have been told of the life of Thomas Cresap, but

42. Bacon-Foster, C., *The Patomac Route to the West.*

for the purposes of this paper enough has been said. His was not a career which for its lofty virtues is held up for the emulation of men. The pioneer, by the circumstances of his life, seldom is of this sort. He is concerned with acquiring land and wringing a living from it. His are the rough virtues of strength, industry and devotion to family, and through his labors the nation enters into prosperity and peace. In proportion as he serves himself he serves his race. Cresap served himself very well indeed, and in so doing made himself one of the most valuable citizens of this province and state for a long period of time. He was a fighter; he fed the hungry, he knew not the fear of man or beast or fort, he stood fast where he planted his feet, and he helped to make this nation English instead of French, and finally to make it American wholly and for all time.

This is the story of Thomas Cresap, whom I have called a Maryland Pioneer.

Comment

Lawrence Wroth's article is a vintage example of Frederick Jackson Turners' frontier thesis as applied to Maryland history. Accordingly, the story of Thomas Cresap encapsulates the rugged pioneering spirit of Western Maryland in the eighteenth century that overcame the obstacles of the frontier. Cresap was the "Maryland monster" who battled Pennsylvania in the border dispute between the Penn and Calvert families, fought and befriended Native Americans, and helped to conquer the wilderness. Thus, according to Wroth, Cresap was "the chief personage" in Western Maryland from 1740 to 1758. In fact, Cresap's aggressive spirit, vast array of associations with "backwoods types" and land speculators (Ohio Company), contributions during the French and Indian War, and construction of a sixty-mile road connecting the Potomac and Ohio Rivers (later part of the National Road) made Cresap "one of the most valuable citizens of this province and state for a long period of time." Subsequent scholarship has further expounded upon Cresap and his role in the Maryland frontier, but it has not substantively challenged Wroth's interpretation.

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Maryland's Share in the Last Intercolonial War

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[The publication of the *Maryland Archives* has made possible the production of a number of valuable monographs on the early history of Maryland. The period of the French and Indian War, here presented from a military point of view, has been discussed in its civil aspect by Prof. J. William Black, "Maryland's Attitude in the Struggle for Canada" (J.H.U. *Studies*, Vol. X, No. 7, 1892). Supplementing this, Genl. Craighill's account of Braddock's Itinerary, published in the *Magazine of the W. Va. Hist. Soc.*, July, 1902, and the "Roster of Maryland Troops of the F. & I. War," published in this, *Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 271, will be of interest.—ED. (1912)]

I. Introduction.

A description of Maryland's connection with the last intercolonial war consists chiefly of an explanation of the reasons why that province had so small a share in the struggle. The explanation is easy to make, but, from the modern view-point, difficult to understand, when it is considered that in 1754 Maryland was a prosperous colony with a population of 150,000 souls; that the province contained public men whose statesman-like breadth of view was to constitute a notable asset for Maryland as the Revolution approached; and that the war governor of the province was an able man of military training whom the fortunes of the struggle twice made commander of the Southern forces during the conflict.

However, Maryland differed little from her sister colonies during the intercolonial wars and a consideration of Maryland's relation to the last great struggle therefore involves a study of the group of particularists who several times each year assumed the title of Assembly at Annapolis. Maryland's contributions to the war, with one or two exceptions, were made contrary to the wishes of that body and in face of their opposition. Maryland's official participation in the conflict may be characterized as a barren expanse of military inactivity, brightened here and there by the exploits of Lieutenant Governor Sharpe, performed on his own initiative, often at his own expense, and invariably in face of the opposition of the Assembly.

This article first appeared in volume 7 (1912). Arthur Meier Schlesinger (1888–1965), Professor of History at Harvard (1924–54) and editor of the New England Quarterly, *wrote dozens of important works, many of which, including* The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776 *(1918), and* The Rise of the City, 1878–1898 *(1933), remain valuable to a modern readership.*

Horatio Sharpe, Lieutenant Governor of Maryland, arrived in Annapolis from England on the tenth of August, 1753, and the same afternoon he was sworn into office.[1] He was the appointee of Frederick Calvert, a lad of twenty-two years, who had succeeded to the lord proprietorship of Maryland in 1751. Sharpe had received his appointment through the influence of his brothers, John and William, both in the public service of Great Britain and the latter of whom had been Frederick's guardian.

Horatio Sharpe was a member of a Yorkshire family of ability and worth. The names of at least five of his brothers survive to the present time. The greatest of them was Dr. Gregory Sharpe (1713–71), a theologian and classical and oriental scholar of some reputation, who translated and published a number of treatises during his life on religious and linguistic subjects.[2] Horatio Sharpe was on more intimate terms with his brothers, John and William, than with the rest of the family. The former was a member of Parliament from Collington, had held various governmental offices at different times, and was one of the guardians of Frederick, Lord Baltimore. He died in 1756. William Sharpe was also a man in public life and in 1758 was keeper of the Council records. In addition there were two brothers, Joshua and Philip, both of whom were attorneys and solicitors.[3]

In appearance Horatio Sharpe was a man of excellent physical proportions and more than six feet in height. His nose was inclined to be prominent, his eyebrows were very black and his mouth was straight and firm. In dress, he was usually simple, even to austerity.[4] As for personal characteristics, a provincial officer writing to *The Maryland Gazette,* November 21, 1754, says of him: "Mr. Sharpe appears to be a stirring, active gentleman; and by his method of proceeding, I believe a very good soldier; cheerful and free, of good conduct, and one, who won't be trifled with."[5] In 1763, Secretary Calvert spoke of him to the king as "a Person Brave and resolute & of real Honesty & in the Due execution & Administration of Govermt very adroit, all Deserving," whereupon the king returned, "I well approve of him."[6]

The correspondence of Sharpe bears out these impressions of his contemporaries. His letters show him to have been an able, upright, honorable man, intimate with none and even reserved with his own brothers. Usually patient and

1. William Hand Browne, ed., "Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe," 3 v. (*Maryland Archives,* vols. 6, 9, 14), Baltimore, 1888 and 1890, Vol. I, p. 1. (Referred to here as: *Sharpe Correspondence.)* Also, Browne, ed., "Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1753–61. Letters to Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1754–65" (*Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXI.) Baltimore, 1911, pp. 3–8.
2. *Dictionary National Biography,* Vol. LI.
3. Sharpe, *Correspondence, passim.*
4. Scharf, J. T., *History of Maryland,* Vol. I. Baltimore, 1879, Vol. 1, p. 443, for picture of Sharpe.
5. Scharf, *Maryland,* Vol. 1, p. 450.
6. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. III, pp. 139–40.

forbearing, he had a slowly kindling wrath which under sufficient pretext unexpectedly revealed a strong temper or a keenly edged vein of sarcasm. Probably his best friend in America was the pleasant Sir John St. Clair, but he was as temperate with his friendships as with his claret. His letters were couched in a vigorous and unadorned English and invariably exhibited a careful and fair consideration of the topic under discussion. Sharpe came into office destined to remain at the head of the government until six years after a treaty of peace had finally adjusted Franco-British territorial differences in America. In his years of administration, he had an extremely difficult position to fill, for his duties entailed a three-fold obligation. As representative of the lord proprietor, he was bound to guard against any encroachment on the overlord's rights; as governor of the province, it was his office to shield the inhabitants from wrong and injustice, and as a commissioned officer under the king, he had to strain every nerve to procure the necessary men and supplies. These duties despite their conflicting interests and antagonistic demands, Sharpe executed with honor to himself and with credit to all parties concerned.

In order to give a proper civil background for what is essentially a military narrative, Governor Sharpe's relations with the Assembly and the lord proprietor will be briefly considered.

The Assembly pursued a consistent course of apposition to the government during Sharpe's administration, frequently during the war carrying their policy to a point where the public safety was endangered and even lives were sacrificed. The parsimony of the legislature in granting funds for war purposes and their interference in military matters were notable. Sharpe said in 1756: "I must . . . yield to all their Absurdities & let dear-bought Experience convince them that there is no immediate Connection between Tobacco planting & military Affairs, & that the knowledge of one does not always imply Skill or Experience in the other."[7]

This singular economy on the part of the Assembly was conditioned upon a number of things. The personnel of the Lower House at this time was of a rather low rank; "Men of small fortunes, no Soul & very mean Capacities," Sharpe characterized them.[8] Maryland was not directly exposed to the ravages of war, with the exception of one sleeve of land which stretched out towards the West, and the delegates thought that they were not as vitally interested in the struggle as their neighboring colonies. Moreover, Maryland had no opportunity to acquire territory by conquest. In a last extremity, the delegates figured, Virginia and Pennsylvania would of necessity supply all requisite funds, and should this resource by chance fail, Great Britain would be obliged to furnish the sinews with which to repel her traditional enemy. From its own standpoint, the Lower House was justified in its attitude by the events.

7. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 404.
8. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 88.

Actuated by such motives, the delegates were strengthened in their position by the reluctance of the lord proprietor to permit his private property and certain revenues of the province to be taxed. The Assembly and the proprietor had reached irreconcilable positions. The people of the colony, imbued with the democratic spirit of the frontier, considered Maryland a commonwealth and maintained that the proprietary estates should be taxed like all others since the lord proprietor's lands received an equal amount of benefit and protection. The proprietor, firm in the legality of his position, viewed the province as a county palatine and avowed that his subjects had no rights in themselves but only such rights as he bestowed. Democracy and feudalism were face to face. Under such conditions a clash was inevitable and the difference assumed an unfortunate form during the war. The Lower House took the attitude of stubbornly maintaining the popular "rights" regardless of the consequences to the people or the empire. No money whatsoever would have been granted for military purposes, had not the proprietary government yielded temporarily a few points, although the overlord was as fully convinced of his "rights" as was the Assembly.

There are few indications that the politicians of the Lower House were seeking to discredit proprietary government by obstructionist tactics and thus hasten the introduction of royal government. There is no doubt that the delegates were encouraged by "the Artfull pecuniary pusalanimity of Quaker Government."[9] and there may have been a motive for their attitude in the fact that the tide-water towns, which had the largest influence in the Assembly, profited most by the enforced pause in western migration occasioned by the war.[10]

Governor Sharpe in his dealings with the Lower House showed political insight and shrewdness, frequently meeting practical situations with practical expedients. Always he sternly urged them to perform their duties and during the war his invariable attitude was that the first duty of the province belonged to the Crown. He probably secured as many grants from the legislature as anyone in his situation could have done and he became impatient with the body only when great imperial interests were being jeopardized by their pettiness and small politics. When the statutes of Maryland appeared inadequate for the exigencies of the occasion, Sharpe, although a great respector of law, did not hesitate to stretch his ordinance making powers to the extreme limit and proceed to conduct military operations by means of authority of slender legality. He was able to see all sides of a question and was always ready to serve the people consonant with the broad principles of equity and justice.

9. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p, 187.

10. "There is no doubt the growth of Baltimore was promoted by the continuation of the war, preventing the extension of the settlements westward, for within a year after peace the town had certainly become the greatest mart of trade in the province, if not before the war began." Griffith, T. W., *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), pp. 35–6.

His relations, with the Council and Upper House were always amicable and that body of men were at all times in accord with his views. In his period of administration, the gentlemen of the Upper House were always ready to save him the exercise of the veto power by themselves rejecting the objectionable bills.

The youthful proprietor, Frederick, did not meddle much in Maryland, except to query regularly why certain monies were not forthcoming. When not hankering after illicit love, he busied himself with writing prose and verse with an equal lack of success. Walpole said of one of his books (*A Tour to the East in the Years 1763 and 1764*): "His bills on the road for post-horses would deserve as much to be printed."[11]

Secretary Cecilius Calvert, uncle of Frederick, made up for his master's indifference by a superabundance of zeal in provincial affairs. Calvert had himself refused an offer of the governorship from the guardians[12] and when Sharpe had assumed that dignity, he undertook to interfere seriously with the exercise of Sharpe's functions. He succeeded in virtually stripping him of all his powers of patronage and this was especially annoying since the power to reward as well as to punish was essential to the maintenance of governmental authority.[13]

Governor Sharpe wrote to his brother William on May 2, 1756: "I think I have already hinted to you that I am not permitted to dispose of any of the most honourable or Lucrative Offices because another Person loves to have all Applications made to himself; this perhaps is of itself sufficient to lessen the Weight & Influence that a Governor would otherwise have; but as it has been thought proper of late to saddle those Offices with about £550 p Ann. & I am charged with the Care of making the most advantageous Bargains, I submit to your own Judgment whether it is possible for a Person in my situation to continue always popular. Any Body that can get introduced to Mr. Calvert is sure to bring me an open Lettr desiring I will appoint him to this or that or the first vacant Office. Should I have any Objection to the Person so introduced & recommended to me, or for any other reason neglect to comply with the terms of such Letter, that Man thinks himself hardly dealt by & immediately commences my Enemy."[14]

The governor's attitude toward Secretary Calvert and toward the proprietor was one of studied deference. If occasion arose to present views adverse to those held by his superiors in England, Sharpe approached the matter discreetly, albeit firmly.

11. Morris, J. G., "The Lords Baltimore." (*Fund Publication* No. 8, Maryland Historical Society.) Baltimore, 1874, and Neil, E. D., *Terra Mariae,* Philadelphia, 1867, pp. 235–7.

12. "Calvert Papers," No. 2. (Fund Publication No. 34, Maryland Historical Society.) Baltimore, 1894, p. 172, Letter to Edmond Jennings, July 9, 1752.

13. *Maryland Archives,* XXXI, p. 471, for Calvert's protestation to the contrary in a letter to Sharp of December 12, 1754.

14. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. II, p. 400. See also pp. 447, 451, and 454.

In financial matters Sharpe felt that he was treated shabbily by both the Assembly and the lord proprietor. For instance, in a letter to his brother on May 2, 1756, he remarked: "My Journey to Fort Cumberland last Summer & in the Winter to New York where I was obliged to wait for & attend General Shirley near two Months put me to about £150 Expence, for which I shall never receive more than thanks at most. To this let there be added what the Frequency & Length of our Sessions of Assembly & the number of Military Officers who call on me lay me under a necessity of expending, together with part of my House Rent & also the £250 which I am annually to pay Mr. Calvert for his Correspondence, & deduct the whole out of my yearly Salary & Perquisites which amount to about £1400. The Remainder is for the Support & Dignity of His Ldp's Governor & for him to lay by against a future Day."[15]

A year later (July 6, 1757), he wrote to the same brother: "I have been obliged to spend upwards of £500 stg. on such Journeys to conferences, etc. & have not been reimbursed a Shilling. Indeed our Assembly is in this respect a hundred times worse than the Pensilvanians, for they have never declined any Expence that their Governors or Commissioners have been at in holding Treaties with the Indians or journying to the Frontiers, tho such Expences have within these three years amounted to many thousand pounds."[16]

However, when he thought he had an opportunity to obtain the governorship of New York in 1757 through the influence of his brothers and Thomas Pownall, he declared he deemed it more desirable to remain in Maryland.[17]

Despite the legislative interferences in military affairs and the dearth of funds and men, Haratio Sharpe showed himself an able military commander within the limited scope in which he was permitted to act. He proved himself a sagacious administrator and a careful student of the military game. He had had the advantage of a previous military training and his services in the last intercolonial war constituted a distinct aid to the various British commanders and saved many lives and much property for Maryland. His two periods of leadership occurred at times when it was impossible for him to perform any notable achievement; and he was constantly striving to obtain a command in the service, in which, backed by British troops and money, it would be practicable for him to conduct active war against the enemy.[18] But his ambition came to naught. "I have little Reason," he wrote in the letter of May 2, 1756, "to be fond of attending or making Court to Generals in America."[19] The following year (July 6, 1757), he lamented: "Twas re-

15. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 400.
16. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 47. See also, Vol. II, p. 67.
17. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. II, pp. 47, 48, 76, and 85.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 311, 313, 314, 372, 395, and 406.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 402.

ally hard to be excluded from all Chance of preferment in the military way by the Establishment of the Royal American Regiment."[20]

Yet Sharpe's military ability was commended by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and was known to young Washington.[21] General Braddock commented favorably on his services; his advice was valued highly by General Shirley,[22] and his public spiritedness was vouched for by General Forbes.[23]

II. Maryland in the Last Intercolonial War.

The last intercolonial war was hastened in its coming by the mutual aggressions of both parties to the conflict in America. Five years after the treaty of peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), the French had built a fort on territory claimed by the English Atlantic provinces, at Rivière aux Boeufs, a point within the present Erie County, Pa. This post constituted one of a chain of forts which the French planned to build from Montreal to Louisiana with a view of confining the English strictly to the coast region. Already in 1749 the English government had granted to the Ohio Company, an association of wealthy Marylanders and Virginians, 500,000 acres of territory south of the Ohio, and when the Company sent traders among the Indians, the French seized and imprisoned them. Aroused by these outrages, Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, on October 30, 1753, sent the youthful Washington to the French commander to warn him to depart at once.[24]

Not waiting for the messenger's return, Dinwiddie began applying to the various colonies for aid in a western expedition against the French and he was especially urgent in his appeals to Maryland and Pennsylvania, which with Virginia were most exposed to hostile operations.[25]

Governor Horatio Sharpe, but three months in Maryland, met his first Assembly in November, 1753, and in answer to his appeal for the assistance that Dinwiddie desired, he received a forewarning of what the attitude of the legislature was to be throughout the war. "We are," the Lower House declared, "sufficiently apprehensive of the great danger of suffering a foreign power to encroach upon any part of his Majesty's dominions and we are absolutely determined to repel any hostile invasion of the province by any foreign power. . . . And whenever the circumstances of our neighbors require it, we will cheerfully contribute as far

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 48.
21. Ford, W. C., ed., *Writings of George Washington,* Vol. I. New York. and London, 1889, p. 50.
22. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p, 306.
23. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. II, p. 188.
24. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 10. Lowdermilk, W. H., *History of Cumberland,* Washington, D.C., 1878, for Washington's Journal in this trip. The appendix contains Braddock's Orderly Book, February 26 to June 17, 1755.
25. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 23.
26. Mereness, N. D., *Maryland as a Proprietary Province.* New York, 1901, p. 318.

as we are able toward defending them against the attacks of their enemies; but as there does not appear at present to be any pressing occasion for imposing a tax upon the people for these purposes, we hope our unwillingness to do it at this time will be ascribed to the real motives of our conduct, a prudent care and regard to the interests of our constituents [rather] than [to] any disinclination to the service recommended."[26]

Dinwiddie meanwhile continued his requests for assistance and at the same time presented to England the necessity for vigorous action against the French. Early in February, 1754, Washington returned from his mission and brought with him the rejection of Dinwiddie's demands. Nothing was left but a recourse to hostilities.

In response to Dinwiddie's request Governor Sharpe called a second meeting of the Maryland Assembly for February 25, 1754.[27] He laid before the Assembly a written appeal for assistance from Dinwiddie and he dwelt upon the importance of aiding Virginia in her projected expedition against the French. He also spoke of the need of money for making a present to the Six Nations at the Albany Conference which was to be held in June. After three days, the Lower House resolved unanimously that no money should be raised to aid the Virginians, declaring that "as it does not appear to us that an invasion or hostile attempt has been made against this or any other of his Majesty's colonies, we do not think it necessary to make any provision for an armed force, which must inevitably load us with expense."[28] The House appeared to be more willing to raise money for a gift to the Indians and it granted £300 for such a present and £200 to defray the expenses of the commission. But in so doing it appropriated the money arising from licenses to ordinary keepers as well as those to hawkers and peddlers, and it was this that prevented the bill from becoming a law. The lord proprietor still claimed the right to all such movies for his private use, although since the late war he had permitted license money from ordinaries to be applied to public purposes. Under these circumstances the Upper House amended the bill so as to mortgage the license money from ordinaries for the whole £500 and thus omit the clauses relating to hawkers and peddlers. The Lower House would not concur in the amended bill and the session ended without any appropriations having been made.[29]

While Dinwiddie was planning his expedition to the West, he had already taken precautions to send a force of thirty men to the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers in order to raise a temporary stockade awaiting the arrival of the main body of the provincials.[30] On these defenceless works a large body of

27. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 33, 38–9.
28. Mereness, N. D., *Maryland,* pp. 318–19.
29. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 42.
30. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 43–4, 197.

French with a train of artillery descended on April 17, 1754, and without firing a shot captured the place, later erecting on the site the fort known as Fort Du Quesne.[31]

This act of hostility together with "the repeated Sollicitations of the neighbouring Governments"[32] induced Sharpe to meet the Assembly a third time with the hope of attaining better results than at the preceding session. Governor Dinwiddie's plan was to raise a force of 1000 men to send across the mountains and the co-operation of Maryland was important to the success of the expedition.[33] The opening address of the governor, on May 8, reviewed the recent occurrences on the frontier and asked that money be granted to aid in repelling the invasion of the French. The request of His Majesty for a gift to the Six Nations was again referred to their attention. The Lower House cogitated over the matter of finances and finally with "some difficulty" were prevailed on to grant £500 for an Indian present and £150 to defray the expenses of the commission.[34] But they came no nearer to granting supplies for a western expedition than to frame a bill for £3000 which contained the obnoxious clauses relating to hawkers and peddlers and which the Upper House perforce returned "with an Absolute Negative."[35] In a letter to Secretary Calvert, the governor attributed "the Obstinacy that has appeared in the Lower House of Assembly during these two last Conventions to the near approach of another Election which . . . has no little influence on the Conduct of such Representatives as for the most part compose our present Senate."[36]

Affairs were rapidly assuming a more threatening aspect in the West. News of the surrender of the fort on the Ohio reached Colonel Washington at Wills Creek, the present site of Cumberland, Md., where with 150 men he was awaiting reinforcements from North Carolina and New York, before proceeding to the Ohio. Washington used his men in opening a road from Wills Creek in the direction of that river, and while employed at this work on May 27, 1754, they fell in with a small detachment of Frenchmen who were quickly killed or captured and the survivors sent to Dinwiddie forthwith.[37] On July 9, Colonel Innes reaching Winchester, Va., with 150 unarmed troops from North Carolina was forced to apply to Maryland for weapons for his men and Sharpe being satisfied with his representations hastened to send him 150 stand of arms.

The re-inforcements were too late to aid Washington, for, lacking the much-needed assistance of Maryland and the other colonies and out-numbered three to one, he had been compelled to surrender on July 3 at Great Meadow to a force of Frenchmen after several hours' fighting.[38]

31. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 62, 197.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 56–7.
33. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 42, 62.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 81.
35. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 69.
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 70.
37. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 197–98.
38. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 79, 116, and 198–99.

The news of Washington's defeat spreading over the frontier caused the inhabitants of western Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia to talk of deserting their habitations.[39] Governor Dinwiddie renewed his solicitations for Maryland's assistance and while the excitement was still high, Sharpe met with the Assembly on July 17 and by August 16 had succeeded in persuading the Lower House to pass a bill for granting £6000 in support of the proposed Western campaign. The bill, although containing objectionable features, was acceptable to Sharpe in such a time of public danger, especially since he considered that in granting only one-half of the license money from hawkers and peddlers the Lower House had conceded a point in the lord proprietor's favor. The grant permitted Sharpe to apply the whole £6000 as he should think proper for the assistance of the Virginians and for the relief of the wives and children of such Indian allies as should put themselves under Maryland protection.[40]

Having secured funds even at the risk of incurring the lord proprietor's displeasure, Sharpe consulted with Dinwiddie as to the best means of expending the money far the public good. The service of the Virginia commissary, Major John Carlyle, in the Washington campaign had been deficient in many particulars and Sharpe suggested to Dinwiddie "the Expediency & necessity of laying a proper quantity of Provisions" for the coming campaign.[41] Throughout his period of governorship, the civilian Dinwiddie failed to appreciate the value of a business-like military administration, and at this moment of importance for Sharpe's future military career the Virginia governor passed over the suggestion and asked Sharpe to raise a company of one hundred men for service under Colonel Innes in the projected campaign. With the addition of these forces and the assembling at Wills Creek of the North Carolina and Virginia troops and the three Independent Companies, Dinwiddie expected to have 1010 troops at Wills Creek by September ready to cross the Alleghanies.[42]

Obedient to Dinwiddie's orders, Sharpe proceeded in the early part of August to recruit a company, clothe and arm it, and he ordered Colonel Thomas Cresap, a famous frontiersman who lived on a large estate near Wills Creek, to purchase for the government sufficient meat and flour to last one hundred men at least a twelvemonth.[43] The Maryland troops were allowed the same pay that the Virginia forces were given. Captains received eight shillings a day, lieutenants four, ensigns

39. Ibid.., Vol. I, p. 88.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 80, 81, 88–9; Thomas Bacon, ed., *Laws of Maryland* (unpaged) Annapolis, 1765, Chap. IX, Act 1764.

41. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 200, 77.

42. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 77.

43. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 78–7, 200. R. A. Brock, ed., "Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie," 2 v. (*Virginia Historical Collections,* Vols. III and IV, New Series.) Richmond, Va., 1883, Vol. I, p. 10, f.n. Referred to in this thesis as: *Dinwiddie Papers.*

three, sergeants one shilling six pence, corporals one shilling. Each private received eight pence a day with provisions, i.e., flour and pork or beef, and in addition received one pistole for enlistment and twenty-six shillings to purchase a coat and breeches.[44] By late September the first division of the Maryland Company was ready to march for Wills Creek. The command of the company was given to Captain John Dagwarthy, "a Gentn born in the Jerseys, who commanded a Company raised in that Province for the Canada Expedition since the miscarriage of which he has resided in this Province upon an Estate which he purchased in Worcester County."[45]

On September 1, 1754, the two Independent Companies from New York had been marched to Wills Creek where, shortly after, they were joined by the Independent Company from South Carolina. On September 12, they began erecting a stockade, afterwards dignified by the name of "Fort Cumberland," the faulty location of which was to become the object of Sharpe's wrath throughout the years of the war. The rude fortifications were completed about the middle of October.[46]

However, Dinwiddie's plan for a fall campaign was meeting with serious checks. Washington protested against it, declaring that his men were reduced by death, wounds and sickness, and ill-supplied with provisions and ammunition. Of the original 300, only 140 soldiers remained. An even more serious set-back was the disbanding of the North Carolina forces, occasioned, so Dinwiddie expressed it, by "monstrous mismanagement." £12,000 had been raised by the North Carolina government to aid in the western enterprise, but the President of North Carolina had given the private men three shillings proclamation money a day and the officers in proportion, so that the money was expended before the troops marched for Wills Creek. The men refused to remain in service any longer unless this pay should be continued, and as the President was not in a position to give them such an assurance, the troops were disbanded. The final blow to Dinwiddie's project was the refusal of the Virginia Assembly to vote supplies. He had expected them to grant at least £2000, with which sum he planned to augment the Virginia regiment to 600 men and thus be able to proceed across the mountains without North Carolina aid.[47]

Early in September, Dinwiddie reluctantly gave up his scheme but with characteristic optimism began forming plans for an early spring campaign. He or-

44. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 77.

45. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 95.

46. Hulbert, A. B., "Braddock's Road." (*Historic Highways of America,* Vol. IV. Contains "A Seaman's Journal of Braddock's Route and various other accounts.) Cleveland, O., 1903, p. 24; Lowdermilk, W. H., *Cumberland,* p. 83.

47. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp, 96, 98, and 200; and Saunders, W. L., ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* Vol. V. Raleigh, 1887, Vol. V, Preface, pp. xiii–xviii, for this paragraph.

dered one hundred of Washington's troops to Wills Creek and directed Colonel Innes at that place to take possession of the Ohio Company's warehouse, conceiving it would be cheaper to rent than to build. He sent orders to Innes that great guns should be mounted for the defence of the works that they were building and that sheds should be constructed around the breastworks in which to shelter the soldiers.[48]

Sharpe received news of Dinwiddie's decision against an immediate campaign in time to instruct the officers of the Maryland troops not to complete the company. Only fifty men had been enlisted and Sharpe estimated that with three or four weeks' notice the company could be completed and made ready for action.[49]

Governor Sharpe had been of considerable service to Dinwiddie in his plans for a campaign against Fort Du Quesne. Dinwiddie had consulted with Sharpe on all important points and although the Maryland executive's suggestions were frequently not acted upon, yet his discreet advice usually bore fruit in wise modifications of Dinwiddie's original proposals. However, Sharpe was soon to learn that he had been raised to a position where he could accomplish the reforms he deemed advisable by direct means. On October 7, 1754, he received word from England that he had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the American forces.

If we are to believe Horace Walpole,[50] Sharpe's appointment to the head of the American army was not due to any services he had ever rendered in America or elsewhere, but was attributable to some clever intriguery in the British cabinet, in which the Duke of Newcastle, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and the Earl of Holderness were the leading figures. The Duke of Newcastle, the self-aspiring Secretary of State for the Southern Province, sought with the aid of the other two men, declares Walpole, to undertake the direction of the impending American war and by gaining early success there to win favor at Court. However, in engaging in his ambitious design, he was careful not to consult with the two ministers who knew most about colonial affairs and who were therefore most liable to eclipse him in the royal regard,—the Earl of Halifax, newly-appointed President of the Board of Trade, and the Duke of Cumberland, the head of the British army.[51]

48. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 96–7.

49. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 98–9.

50. Walpole, H., *Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second,* London, 1822, Vol. I, 347–8.

51. However, Secretary Calvert gave a different version of the affair in a letter to Governor Sharpe, February 28, 1784 (Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. III, pp. 139–140), when he said: "I . . . took the Liberty to refer him [i.e. the king] of yr character military to his Highness the Duke of Cumberland who I knew had spoken & had recommended you in Council to His Late Majesty in a Military Capacity fitting, & was the cause of much Honor done to you,—that of his Majesty's Comissn & Comdr of His Majesty's Forces in America, wh Honble Post you held until the arrival of Gen'l Braddock."

Seeking to gain some knowledge on which to base a plan of American operations, the triumvirate sought the advice of Mr. Horatio Gates, a young English officer who had seen service in the New World. Gates declared he was unable to give them the information they desired and the trio next called into consultation Mr. John Hanbury, a Quaker merchant and banker who had extensive trade relations with Maryland and Virginia and who was a proprietor of the Ohio Company. From this point on, the Walpole account can be verified by the Sharpe Correspondence.[52] Hanbury, who had only a second-hand knowledge of American affairs, declared that Virginia would make the best base of operations and suggested Sharpe as the man in America best fitted to take the chief command.[53] His first recommendation was due no doubt to the fact that the Ohio Company would be vastly benefited by the routes which the expedition would open. Although he was probably acquainted with Horatio Sharpe's brothers, Hanbury was not altogether disinterested in his second recommendation, for he intended thus to place Sharpe under obligations to him and his firm; and in the years following Sharpe was caused considerable trouble by his inability to secure berths for all the men whom the Messrs. Osgood and Capel Hanbury desired appointed to office in Maryland.[54] John and William Sharpe, both men of some influence, eagerly advocated their brother's appointment, and Secretary Calvert informed Governor Sharpe later that Lord Baltimore and he had given their warm support to it.[55] The king gave his assent and on July 5, 1754, two days after Washington's defeat at Great Meadows, Horatio Sharpe, Lieutenant Governor of Maryland, was commissioned "Lieutenant Colonel of foot in the West Indies[56] only," with instructions "to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from us, our Captain General of Our Forces or any other your Superiour officer according to the Rules and Discipline of War . . ."[57] A letter of the same date from Sir Thomas Robinson, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, amplified the terms of the commission by informing Sharpe of "the King's Orders that

52. The inaccuracies of Walpole's statements of fact, would tend to discredit the faithfulness of his account, even if there were no external evidences of unreliability. He states that the news of Washington's defeat reached England in August and that it was after this time that Newcastle "assumed the hero and breathed nothing but military operations." This would place Sharpe's appointment in August, 1754, when the documents show it to have occurred on July 5, but two days after Washington's defeat. Walpole also terms Sharpe "the governor of Virginia." (Pp. 346–7.)

53. A letter of Sharpe to Hanbury evidently refers to his services at this time. (Vol. I, p: 120.)

54. For example: Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 184–5, 401; II, 35–6, 38–40; III, 429, 433, 475.

55. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 109, and 72.

56. The term, "West Indies," was a curious survival in an official document of this late date of the old name for the New World.

57. *Maryland Archives*, Vol. XXXI, p. 52, for royal commission; *ibid.*, pp. 50–2, and Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 73, for proprietary commission.

you should take upon you the command of the Combined Forces that shall be Assembled in America to oppose the Hostile Attempts Committed by the French in Different parts of his Majesty's Dominions." He was ordered to consult with Dinwiddie in regard to the best execution of His Majesty's directions. A salary of 30s. per diem was granted to him while he should be absent from his government in the royal service.[58]

The royal commission and that of the lord proprietor were sent to Sharpe in care of Arthur Dobbs, the newly-appointed governor of North Carolina, but owing to a stormy voyage Dobbs did not reach Williamsburg, Va., with the appointment until October 7, 1754, almost twelve weeks after his departure from England. Dobbs also carried with him £10,000 in specie for the use of Virginia. As soon as Dinwiddie informed him of the arrival of the commission, Sharpe hastened to Williamsburg to receive the appointment and to consult with Dinwiddie and Dobbs in regard to a plan of operations.[59]

Sharpe's instructions seem to have contemplated nothing beyond the capture of Fort Du Quesne by a provincial force, although there was an intimation that a considerable body of regulars would shortly be sent over from Great Britain.[60] Lord Baltimore's commission granted Sharpe leave of absence from the province whenever necessary on public business and instructed him at such times to entrust the reins of government to the president or senior member for the time being of the Council.[61]

Dinwiddie, writing of Sharpe's appointment at this time (October 25), said that the promotion was one "w'ch I am very glad of, and doubt not from his Experience in Military affairs y't he will be of good Service."[62]

Sharpe reached Williamsburg on October 19, 1754, and at once held counsel with other two governors.[63] As a result of the conference, it was agreed to raise 700 men immediately if possible, and then, if the severe season had not yet set in, it was proposed to join them with the three Independent Companies at Wills Creek and advance on Fort Du Quesne before the French could receive re-inforcements from Canada or Louisiana. This post taken, Sharpe designed to erect a fort on an island in the Ohio opposite Fort Du Quesne, a position he deemed of great strategic importance. The necessity of garrisoning the Wills Creek post and other points of

58. *Maryland Archives,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 52–3, for Robinson's letter.

59. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 103, 104.

60. Sargent, W., "History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755 under Major General Edward Braddock," Philadelphia, 1855, p. 74. (Contains Captain Robert Orme's Journal, the so-called Morris Journal and Braddock's Instructions. Referred to in this thesis as: *Braddock's Expedition.*)

61. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 74.

62. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, p. 372.

63. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 103.

vantage precluded the possibility of further operations without material reinforcement from England or elsewhere.[64]

Leaving Williamsburg, Sharpe returned to Annapolis on November 2, where six days later he addressed letters to the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut informing them of his appointment and soliciting the vigorous co-operation of their assemblies in granting troops and supplies.[65] He likewise sent requests to England for money and troops, and Dinwiddie joined him heartily in his appeals to the home government.[66]

Sharpe now turned his attention to the organization of his forces. Colonel William Fitzhugh, of Virginia, was his second in command and was to have the chief command of the army during Sharpe's absence in visiting military posts and in executing his official duties as governor. Sharpe felt himself seriously handicapped by the absence from his forces of the most experienced military leader in the colonies, Colonel Washington. With the specie that Dobbs had brought to Virginia and with a legislative grant of £20,000 (made in February), Dinwiddie had re-organized the Virginia regiment the latter part of October, planning to enlarge the regiment to 1000 men and placing the whole on an establishment of Independent Companies. The change had the effect of reducing the highest officers of the Virginia regiment to captains and made even these inferior to like officers holding king's commissions.[67] Washington was the officer most conspicuously affected by the new establishment, and deeply resenting his abasement he forthwith resigned his commission.

Appreciating the value of Washington's experience and reputation, Sharpe opened negotiations with him the early part of November and wrote to Dinwiddie that the young Virginian might continue in the service and retain his colonel's commission if he should return to the army.[68] At Sharpe's behest, Colonel Fitzhugh likewise wrote to Washington, pressing him to reconsider his decision.[69] But Washington was too deeply hurt by the treatment he had received and he refused to leave his retirement. In a lengthy and somewhat declamatory letter which he addressed to Colonel Fitzhugh on November 15, 1754, Washington thanked the men for their kind intentions and then continued: "You make mention in your letter of my continuing in the service and retaining my colonel's commission. This idea has filled me with surprise; for, if you think me capable of holding a commis-

64. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 105, 118, 117; *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, p. 351:
65. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 109, 110, 120, 122, 123, 124.
66. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, pp. 385, 406, 407.
67. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, p. 403, f.n.
68. Hamilton, S. M., ed., *Letters to Washington*, Vol. I. Boston and New York, 1898, Vol. I, pp. 64–65.
69. Ford, W. C., *Washington's Writings*, Vol. I, pp. 137–141, with footnotes. Also Sparks, J., *Life of George Washington*, 2 vols. (Abridged edition.) Boston, 1840, for general account.

sion that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself."[70] Washington returned Sharpe's letter which Dinwiddie had forwarded to him, and as Sharpe had offered him every concession that it was possible far him to make under the circumstances, the incident was closed. Thus it came about that during the few months of Sharpe's chief command, Washington sulked in retirement at Mount Vernon.

Sharpe spent the greater part of November in gaining a knowledge of the topography of the western country and in investigating its resources. He ordered Captain Dagworthy to resume recruiting for the Maryland Company[71] and the troop reached Wills Creek November 18, where they were sheltered through the winter in huts they built for themselves. He kept up an active correspondence with the neighboring governors, seeking information as to a new route over the mountains and the possibilities of transporting provisions by various roads.[72] News reached him early in the month that sixty Indians were seen on their way to join the French and that they would soon be followed by two hundred more. He was informed that the savages would be used against the frontier settlements during the winter.[73]

About the middle of November he started on a tour of inspection of the western country and on the eighteenth of the month he reached the fort at Wills Creek. Up to this time he had been in high hopes of being able to conduct a successful campaign against the French, despite the fact that his command was only a temporary one and would in all probability be taken away upon the arrival of the regular troops from Great Britain.[74] On his arrival at Wills Creek he learned three things which were fatal to the plans he had formed for a midwinter campaign. First, he received reliable information that the French at Fort Du Quesne numbered six hundred besides several bands of Indians, a force too large for him to conduct an offensive war against except under the most favorable conditions.[75] Secondly, he found the troops unruly and ill-disciplined. Thirdly and of greatest importance, he discovered that the store of provisions laid in at Wills Creek was totally inadequate for the least pretentious of expeditions. Dinwiddie's system of military administration had borne pernicious fruit.

Sharpe could hardly believe his eyes when he viewed this fort at the edge of the wilderness, which he had expected to use as a base of operations, The stockade

70. Ford, W. C., *Washington's Writings,* Vol. I, p. 139.
71. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 116.
72. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 121–2, 126.
73. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 118–19.
74. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 117.
75. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 173, 228.

upon which the Independent Companies had been working was now completed, and the troops were engaged in erecting barracks. But Sharpe found the fort entirely inadequate for his uses. It was too small, "its Exterior Side not exceeding 120 feet," and it was not strategically situated. A higher hill nearby had complete command of it, a circumstance which would prove a fatal oversight in case of attack. He immediately set the Maryland Company to work at building a larger stockade on the loftier eminence, which, he wrote to Dinwiddie, "will defend a Face of that small Fort to which an Enemy might at present approach without being much annoyed or hardly seen from within." He designed to use the original stockade as a storehouse.[76]

Sharpe found the troops at the fort in a disorganized state. There were in camp the Maryland Company, a portion of the Virginia troops and the three Independent Companies, amounting in all to four captains, eight lieutenants, one ensign, twelve sergeants, thirteen corporals, seven drummers and 295 privates.[77] Of the provincials, the Virginia forces amounted to "about 120 discontented, unruly and mutinous," and the Maryland Company was "incompleat and undisciplined."[78] The Independent Companies were in such a plight that when several months later an advance officer of General Braddock (Sir John St. Clair) reviewed them he discharged more than forty men from one company alone as unfit for service.[79] Moreover, Sharpe discovered that much ill-feeling was rife among the officers of the various troops. "Such Jealousies & Enmities subsisted between the Officers of the Carolina Independents & the Virginia Regiment that their Meeting would have been attended with innumerable Mischiefs & Confusion," Sharpe wrote. His chief difficulty lay in attempting to reconcile the officers with royal commissions so as to serve with Officers who held governor's commissions. All his efforts proved unavailing although he proposed the same scheme of adjustment which several months later was sent with the royal sanction from England. To improve the efficiency of the service, Sharpe gave orders for raising a company of thirty rangers, to be composed of woodsmen whose duty it should be to set as scouts and guides.[80]

The state in which Sharpe found the supplies was the most disheartening of all the obstacles. There were no mortars or field pieces at the post with the exception

76. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 136, for this paragraph. See Washington's condemnatory opinion of the fort in Ford, W. C., *Washington,* Vol. I, pp. 364–371, and in *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, p. 493.

77. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 142.

78. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 173.

79. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 201,—a letter to J. Sharpe, April 19, 1765. See also *Orme's Journal,* pp. 285–86.

80. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 142.

of four small ship cannon,[81] and the South Carolina Independents had not a match-coat or blanket among them.[82] No victuals had been procured by Dinwiddie in preparation for the expedition,[83] and "there was only enough provisions in the fort to suffice the troops for one day."[84] "Indeed," Sharpe declared in a letter to John Sharpe, April 19, 1755, "so great was the Scarcety of Flour at the Camp when I arrived there, that unless I had given Cresap Orders to supply the Independent Companies from his Store they must actually have deserted the Fort they had built in a Day or two for want of Bread."[85] There had been no salt in the camp for a considerable time preceding, and on account of this lack of salt and the absence of receptacles for curing meat, cattle which had been purchased for the garrison were allowed to range at large.[86] At "an extraordinary Expence," herdsmen had been hired to prevent the cattle from passing the mountains, and this lack of thrift on the part of the commissary, Major John Carlyle, was only one of many which Sharpe discovered.

The plight of the Independents was so pitiable that on his own authority Sharpe ordered Colonel Cresap, who had laid in a year's supplies for the Maryland Company, to proceed to purchase provisions for the rest of the troops. Although the season was so far advanced that food was difficult to procure, Cresap succeeded in buying 29,138 pounds of pork (cured), 8,000 pounds of flour and 64 beeves still alive.[87] These supplies were later taken over by the Virginia commissariat. Sharpe secured a supply of salt for immediate use from Rock Creek and purchased six wagons from Pennsylvania farmers and several bateaux to facilitate the transporting of all provisions that should be ordered to Wills Creek.[88] The countrymen had grossly overcharged Carlyle far hauling and Sharpe's measures had the effect of bringing down their charges to a normal rate.[89] For the reception of the provisions that had been ordered, he gave instructions that storehouses should be built. He wrote urgently to Dinwiddie to send an adequate quantity of salt and insisted that large vats for salting meat and barrels for packing it should be sent at once, for it would be difficult, if not impossible, to procure beeves or hogs fit for slaughter after December until the following July or August.[90] He also asked for some ship carpenters and coopers, and a supply of such materials as "cartridge paper, Moulds for Musket & Swan Shot, wire for screws & prickers, Flint & match for the Carriage Guns," and "wampum, there being but little remaining at the Camp."[91]

81. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 229.
82. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 144.
83. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228.
84. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 136.
85. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 201.
86. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 138–9.
87. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 149, 228.
88. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 164.
89. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, pp. 418–19, 448.
90. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 138.
91. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 140–1.

Sharpe's examination of the plan of provisioning at Wills Creek showed him at a glance that Dinwiddie's arrangements were a failure. Sharpe not only discovered much evidence of carelessness and lack of thrift on the part of the head commissary, Major Carlyle, but also many indications of absolute dishonesty on the part of his deputies, particularly Gist. Major Carlyle had so many other interests that he did not reside at Wills Creek and in his absence, "a parcel of Dirty Fellows, . . . had contracted Debts with the Country people for a thousand pounds & upwards without making payments." Gist was the chief offender and apparently had appropriated large sums of money advanced to him by the Virginia government to his own purposes.[92]

As a result of these transactions, the public credit had sunk to a low ebb, and so suspicious had the country people become of the commissary department of the army that it was only with the greatest difficulty that Cresap was able to secure the much needed supplies. In a number of cases, Sharpe advanced money to government debtors from his own pocket in order to rehabilitate the public credit.[93]

On his return to Annapolis the second week of December, Sharpe wrote a thirty-five hundred word letter to Dinwiddie, telling of the state of affairs at Wills Creek and declaring emphatically that "the Troops will never be well supplied with Provision unless a very different Scheme from that hitherto followed be pursued." Without supplies, he wrote, an attacked garrison, "notwithstanding their Advantageous Situation, must be reduced to the necessity of retiring & destroying or relinquishing the Fort, their Works & perhaps their Baggage to the Enemy."[94]

He thereupon outlined a plan which he considered "the most frugal & most likely means" of securing an efficient management of the victualling department. The scheme provided for the headship of "a Commissary of Reputation, Ability & some fortune," assisted by "a Deputy & a Clerk." The commissary should reside a part of the time, and the clerk always, at Wills Creek, in order to receive the cured provisions and later distribute them. The commissary should be entrusted with the authority to contract for provisions. At the very least, he should be sent copies of the contracts as soon as made, so that he might be able to ascertain in advance whether the contracting party would be able to fulfill his engagements. In case of probability of failure, it should be his duty to give immediate notice to the commanding officer, so that the proper measures might be taken to prevent any ill consequences from the event. The commissary should be instructed also "to make the most of the Skins Tallow . . . which well managed & disposed of will be a considerable Saving to the Government." The duty of the clerk would consist in regulating the books and in the absence of the commissary to deliver out provi-

92. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 139, 140, 201; *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, pp. 424, 432.
93. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 139, 201.
94. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 138.

sions to the deputy. When the troops departed from Wills Creek, the deputy should take charge of the provisions and distribute them to the troops at regular intervals.

To remedy the defects of the prevailing system of contracting, Sharpe suggested that clauses should be inserted in the contracts which subjected the vendor to a heavy penalty in case he neglected or was unable to meet the terms of the contract and which obliged vendors to make delivery at Wills Creek, or at the camp of the troops during a campaign.[95]

Dinwiddie received Sharpe's letter on December 16, and so impressed was he with Sharpe's revelations that the next day he issued orders for revising his system of victualling and for adopting Sharpe's scheme practically intact. He appointed two commissaries, Charles Dick, "a Person of Fortune & well known in the back Counties," and Thomas Walker, "a Person of Fortune & great Activity," and these men were given the powers that Sharpe in his plan had allotted to the head commissary and the clerk. Dick was given complete charge of the purchasing end and Walker was instructed to remain at camp, receive and pay far the provisions, and see that they were properly issued to the troops. Each man was granted an annual salary of two hundred pounds. Working in connection with them an agent was located at Winchester, Va., to forward the supplies to Wills Creek, Dinwiddie directed that the commissaries use bonds "to tye the Vendors to a punctual Compliance with their Contracts."[96]

It was this system of the commissariat, adapted at Sharpe's suggestion, which made possible a gradual accumulation of stores through the winter and by the time of the Braddock campaign had resulted in a substantial depot of supplies which proved of inestimable service. Probably the reason that Sharpe has never received credit for his services is due to the fact that at the last minute some of the Virginia contracts were broken and in a violent fit of temper, characteristic of that irritable gentleman, General Braddock styled all Virginia dealings as "Lies and Villainy."[97]

Sharpe had hastened back from Wills Creek to Annapolis in order to attend a meeting of the Assembly which he had called for December 10. Soon after the receipt of his appointment in October, Sharpe had issued writs for a general election of representatives, although three weeks yet remained before their regular term expired. He knew that the old body would grant him nothing above what had been voted in the previous session, and he thought that the election of a new Lower House might improve the chances for an appropriation. He hoped that by

95. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 138–39, for this and preceding paragraph.
96. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 143; *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 424, 432, 436, 439–40, 448, for this paragraph.
97. "Minutes of the Provincial Councils of Pennsylvania," Vols. V, VI, VII, and VIII. Harrisburg, Pa., 1852, Vol. VI, p. 400. See also p. 396. (Referred to here as: *Colonial Records.*)

postponing the meeting until December the other governments to whom he had appealed would have set Maryland a good example by making generous grants for the expedition; but in this expectation he was mistaken. None of the colonial legislatures voted to aid the expedition though indeed Virginia had granted £20,000 in November for her own defence and New York had sent Dinwiddie £5,000 sterling for military purposes during the same month. Pennsylvania, one of the provinces most affected, had after a tumultuous session granted £1,000 to be disposed of as Governor Morris and the Speaker of the Assembly saw fit.[98]

At the appointed time, Governor Sharpe met the Assembly, trusting that the honor of his royal commission would stimulate the generous impulses of the representatives. As a result of his message, the Lower House exhibited apparent public spirit and quickly brought in a bill for £7,000. But one clause of it ordered an addition of £4,000 to the paper money already in circulation and another continued ordinaries as a source of revenue; and as Sharpe had recently received royal instructions against the former and proprietary instructions forbidding the latter, the Upper House negatived the bill. The Lower House refused to make any concession and Sharpe was forced to prorogue the Assembly until February. The Lower House was encouraged in its opposition by the "continued Obstinacy of the Pennsylvania Assembly," then in session.[99]

On January 12, 1755, Governor Sharpe received a communication, dated October 26, 1754, from Sir Thomas Robinson, one of the Secretaries of State, which told him that he had been superseded in the command-in-chief by a "General Officer of Rank & Capacity," then unnamed, and that British regiments were on their way to America.[100] The receipt of this letter may be said to terminate Sharpe's command, which in all had lasted but a little more than three months' time. Sharpe was well aware that his appointment had been a temporary expedient on the part of Great Britain, and his comparatively low rank of lieutenant-colonel precluded him from expecting that he should retain the foremost position after the regular troops arrived. However, it was unfortunate for a man of Sharpe's ambitions that he should have been confronted by insurmountable obstacles at such a critical time in his life. His brief months of leadership were consumed in rectifying the stupidities of Dinwiddie, in appealing to colonial governments unavailingly for aid, and in conducting personally a much-needed investigation into the merits of the prevailing military system. His final obstructions were the difficulties presented by a severe winter season and by the sudden increase in the number of the enemy stationed at Fort Du Quesne.

Nevertheless Sharpe had accomplished much in his period of command, and

98. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 104, 110, 112, 121, and 159 for this paragraph.
99. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 143, 158–59, 181–82, 185, and 177, for this paragraph.
100. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 107.

in the weeks remaining before the arrival of Braddock he was to accomplish more. Sharpe had completely reorganized the system of military administration and placed it on a business basis; and under the system which he thus initiated was begun, through the medium of governor Dinwiddie, the accumulation of provisions and supplies which formed a substantial nucleus of Braddock's food supply in the spring. Braddock himself praised Sharpe's diligence on his arrival in America. "I . . . have . . . the Satisfaction," Sharpe wrote to his brother William in 1755, "to receive . . . a letter from [General Braddock] himself in which he is pleased to compliment me on the Care I had taken to put matters in forwardness & get provisions laid in against the Troop's Arrival." Sharpe's period of leadership showed him to be an able, careful and vigorous administrator, and his zeal to take the field makes one regret that he did not have an opportunity to show if his ability as a commander attained the same rank of excellence.

Sharpe would have accepted service under Braddock if that gentleman had proffered him a suitable position on his arrival in America a month later. "The General has not as yet communicated to me any Command that I am to have," he wrote to William Sharpe in March 1755, "nor is there any, unless the rangers consisting of 8 companies of 53 Men each, which my Commission as Lt. Colo. will entitle me to. However, no Punctilio shall prevent my obeying any Orders he shall be pleased to signify, if the least consistent with the Station that I now bear."[101]

101. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 175.

Maryland's Share in the Last Intercolonial War

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER (Continued).

III. Governor Sharpe and the Braddock Campaign.

Dinwiddie's two commissaries had been busily engaged since their appointment in December, 1754, in canvassing the country for provisions. The oft-repeated reports of the sending to America of two British regiments assumed a more definite aspect by the end of December, and the commissaries were given specific instructions to gather at Wills Creek supplies for the expected reinforcements. On December 28, Dinwiddie sent the men £2000 on which to commence operations and transmitted to them more specie from time to time with orders to lay in what they estimated to be a sufficient food-supply for 3000 men for four months. The troops at Wills Creek were directed to be given a daily ration of one pound of flour and one pound of beef or pork per man, such provisions to be issued weekly to the sergeant of each company. When the commissioners asked for more definite orders, Dinwiddie bade them to gather as large a quantity of salt as they could procure, one thousand bushels at the very least; and then directed them to buy live stock in proportion to the amount of salt, so that the government would not have to bear the expense of stall-feeding any cattle through the winter. The beeves already at camp were ordered to be killed and salted, and casks for packing purposes were ordered to be purchased. At another time, the commissaries were instructed to send messengers to Conegocheague and Pennsylvania to encourage people to bring flour, which was to be delivered at Wills Creek at the market rate of 12s. 6d. per hundredweight. At least 600,000 pounds were to be collected to be in store for the British troops on their arrival. In obedience to these directions, given from time to time through the months of December and January, the commissaries worked indefatigably and intelligently; but Pennsylvania was finally called upon to furnish the greater part of the flour and North Carolina helped out with 400 pounds of pork.[1]

The question of transportation facilities was one that caused a frequent interchange of views between Dinwiddie and Sharpe. The Wills Creek post, although well located as a base of western operations, was eighty miles distant from the settled portion of Maryland, one hundred and seventy-nine miles from Balti-

1. *Dinwiddie Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 439–40, 441, 442, 448–52, 454, 478, 602, 603, 522, 623; and Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, 155, for this paragraph.

more, and eighty-seven miles from Winchester, Va.[2] It was situated in the very heart of the wilderness, surrounded by rugged mountains and virgin forests, and accessible only by one or two crude lanes through the woods. The frequent creeks and streams that intersected the frontier country complicated the difficulties of hauling considerably.

The carriage of provisions to this point constituted a problem of much moment. As both governors realized that the cutting of thoroughfares into the backcountry usually meant the diverting of trade into the one province or the other, the question of the best location of a route often became one that was not always decided strictly upon its merits. On December 10, 1754, Governor Sharpe had written to Dinwiddie objecting to the old route from Alexandria (Belhaven) to Wills Creek, which lay on the Virginia side of the Potomac, because of the frequency of the intersecting streams, and suggested that it would be "the best & easiest way to land everything that shall be sent up Patowmack for the Troops at Rock Creek [in Maryland] whence our wagons will carry them to Conegocheek [Conegocheague] where Battoes may be made to carry every thing thence by water."[3] A week later, Dinwiddie answered, suggesting that Sharpe test the route but doubting the success of it because of spring freshets and summer droughts. Dinwiddie hastened to have a new road cut from Winchester to Wills Creek which would shorten the distance by thirty miles; and to improve the route he ordered flat-bottomed boats, large enough for wagons, to be built on all the intersecting runs.[4] Sharpe acquiesced in the new way, telling Dinwiddie however that "you will find the Carriage thro Winchester much more expensive than on the North shore of Patowmack, especially if you take into the Account the Charge of building such a number of Boats & of opening such a Road as you Propose."[5] Under Dinwiddie's orders, the road was completed and it remained the principal route of transporting provisions to Wills Creek throughout the war.

While at Wills Creek and later at Annapolis, Sharpe, with Dinwiddie's advice, had purchased a number of horses and wagons for carrying supplies. Under the old system, provisions trebled in cost by the time they reached Wills Creek. On December 26, Sharpe formed a plan for greatly diminishing the expense of hauling. The meats were to be dried and salted at a distance from the Creek, packed in one-hundred-pound casks, and carried to the camp strapped on horses, two casks to the animal. As the scheme obviated the difficulty of procuring wagons and did away with the wear and tear of such vehicles, the system was adopted by the

2. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 164–65. Thomas Jefferys' *Atlas* (London, 1776), gives the roads and distances.
3. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 140.
4. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 145.
5. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 150.

Virginia commissariat. On January 11, Dinwiddie contracted for one hundred horses which the next month carried two hundredweight of flour each to the camp.[6]

While the system of provisioning was being worked out on the frontier, Governor Sharpe's time was being taken up in the East by arrangements for the coming troops. Sir Thomas Robinson's circular letter, received in January, 1755, had informed him that two regiments of foot of five hundred each had sailed for America under the command respectively of Sir Peter Halkett and Colonel Thomas Dunbar, and these were to be increased to seven hundred men each on their arrival in Virginia. Sharpe was instructed to have three thousand men, if possible, ready to enlist in the two regiments and in two others which were to be recruited chiefly in the North.[7] Sharpe was further instructed that each colony would be expected to provide victuals for that part of the troops landing within its bounds, and to use the utmost diligence in securing obedience to all orders issued by the British commander-in-chief for quartering troops, impressing vehicles and the like. As for expenditures of a more general nature, Maryland was directed to contribute to a common fund, to be established for that purpose by the colonies.[8]

Sharpe at once gave the necessary directions for procuring a quantity of fresh provisions and for raising a number of men to complete the British regiments.[9] "As to levying any number of Men," Sharpe wrote on January 12, 1755, to Lord Baltimore, "I conceive we shall not find it difficult, especially as the Assembly of this Province & Virginia have passed a Sort of Press Act; but the difficulty will be to get money from the Assemblies to support them after they are raised; indeed this I look upon as impracticable or not to be expected, without the Legislature of Great Britain shall pass a Law to be binding on all these several Colonies & oblige them to raise such a Fund as may be tho't expedient for the Support of their own Troops."[10]

If the single instance quoted by Scharf from the *Maryland Gazette* of February 6, 1755 is a typical one, Sharpe's expectations of a ready enlistment were borne out by the facts. The *Gazette* of that date says: "We are assured that at Chestertown, in Kent county, several men enlisted immediately on the arrival of the officer in that town before the drum was beat, and that officer, who wanted but 30 men, got his complement and marched with them."[11] The cost of enlisting fifty-eight men, mostly from the east shore, and of conveying them to the place of rendezvous at Frederick

6. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 149; and *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, pp. 453–54, 489, for this paragraph.
7. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 107.
8. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 148, 160.
9. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 167.
10. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 161.
11. Scharf, J. T., *Maryland*, Vol. I, p. 450.

averaged £3, 6s. a head, a rate which Sharpe considered an extremely reasonable one.[12]

Early in January, 1755, Governor Sharpe ordered all the Virginia and Maryland recruits, six hundred in all, to repair to Wills Creek; and on January 13, he himself departed for that post, in order to discipline the forces there, and to make preparations for the arrival of the British troops in case it should be decided to march them thither for an early campaign. Sharpe had been at Wills Creek a week when (on January 26) he was joined by Sir John St. Clair, the Deputy Quartermaster General who had lately arrived in America in advance of the regular troops. He and Sharpe, who soon became firm friends, considered the situation carefully and came to the conclusion that the season was so far advanced that it would be impracticable for the troops to winter at Wills Creek and that therefore the work of erecting barracks might be temporarily suspended as the warmer weather would admit of an encampment. After tarrying a day, Sir John started on a journey down the Potomac with Governor Sharpe to determine of what value that river would be for transporting artillery and stores to Wills Creek. They descended the river for five days, ending their journey at Alexandria after having covered a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. The two men purchased all the provisions and forage that they were able to find on both banks of the Potomac during the descent. The many falls and shoals of the river were found to render the transportation of supplies by water impracticable.[13] Remaining a day at Alexandria, they proceeded to Dumfries and Fredericksburg in Virginia, providing and engaging quarters for the expected troops at both places. Then they proceeded to Williamsburg, hoping to find that Braddock had arrived by that time. But in this expectation they were disappointed, and Sharpe was obliged to depart for Annapolis in order to meet the Maryland Assembly which he had called for February 20. On his way thither Sharpe took occasion to review the Virginia recruits and to discharge those men whom he considered unfit for service.[14]

On February 20, 1755, the meeting of the Assembly began, and six days later the Lower House voted to raise £10,000 for the service by the same plan that had been proposed in the bill of the previous session. The Upper House refused to accept the bill and the session closed on March 26, without any appropriations for military purposes, two messages of the governor failing to cause the Lower House

12. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 192.

13. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 168, 174, 186, 202 and 157, for this paragraph. The *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Feb. 18, 1755, said that the men "viewed the Great Falls at Potowmack and were in hopes of blowing them up, so as to make the river navigable there for flat-bottomed vessels, which, if effected, will be of the greatest service in transporting necessaries for our forces" Quoted by Hildeburn, C. R., Hildeburn, C. R., "Sir John St. Clair, Baronet," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History,* Vol. IX, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 3.

14. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 202.

to change its attitude.[15] However, the House took occasion to address the governor as follows: "The appropriation of the ordinary license fines . . . we are so firmly of opinion is the undoubted right of the country that nothing will ever induce us to give it up or do anything that may weaken that right."[16]

While Sharpe was busy with the Assembly at Annapolis, Major-General Edward Braddock, the new commander-in-chief, arrived in America, reaching Williamsburg on February 25, 1755. On March 28, the two regiments, one thousand men in all, landed at Alexandria and the whole force went into camp there, although Sharpe offered to quarter five of the companies at six places in Maryland and although quarters had already been engaged at Dumfries and Fredericksburg in Virginia. Braddock, however, wished to avoid the confusion of disembarkment at different places and thought "it would be impossible to cloath, arm, and discipline the Levies when so much dispersed."[17]

Governor Dinwiddie was able to lay before General Braddock contracts for 1100 head of cattle, 800 of which were to be delivered in June and July, and 300 in August; and he reported that he had written to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts; for a large quantity of salt fish, that a great deal of flour was already at Wills Creek with more to be delivered from Pennsylvania in April, and that he had ordered a great quantity of bacon to be made at the camp. The transports had brought 1000 barrels of beef to America, and upon the basis of these figures it was estimated that arrangements had been effected for sufficient provisions for 4000 men for six months.[18]

The regiments remained encamped at Alexandria until enough draughts from Virginia and Maryland had completed their numbers to seven hundred each. All the men raised in Maryland, amounting to one hundred and twenty persons, were drafted into the regiments, except a company of sixty which Sharpe decided to keep up under the command of Captain Dagworthy "for the honor of his Ldp's province." Sharpe advanced £100 towards its maintenance from his own pocket, with the expectation that the Assembly would reimburse him at its coming session,—a vain hope as he was to learn. Dinwiddie likewise placed nine companies of foot at Braddock's disposal.[19]

On March 28, two days after proroguing the Assembly Sharpe arrived at Alexandria and paid his respects to the general. On April 3, General Braddock, Admiral Keppel[20] and Governor Dinwiddie went to Annapolis with the expecta-

15. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 172, 180, 189.
16. Mereness, N. D., *Maryland*, p. 324.
17. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 171, 186, 194; and Sargeant, *Orme's Journal*, p. 286, for this paragraph.
18. Sargent, *Orme's Journal*, pp. 287-88. See also *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. I, 525.
19. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 189, 194, 245, and 190 for this paragraph.
20. Augustus Keppel, first Viscount, 1725–1786.

tion of meeting Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, Governor Delancey, of New York, and Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania at that place. But these gentlemen failed to make their appearance and Braddock returned to Alexandria on the seventh, having arranged for a later conference at that town. Before leaving, however, Braddock had learned that no wagons had been provided in Maryland for the transportation of supplies; and on application to Governor Sharpe he was assured that one hundred would be engaged to carry stores from Rock Creek as quickly as they were landed.[21]

On April 11 and 12, Governors Shirley, Delancey, and Morris, and Colonel William Johnson joined Governor Sharpe at Annapolis and on the latter day proceeded to Alexandria for the council of war. At the conference on April 14, Braddock reiterated to the governors His Majesty's desire for a common colonial fund and outlined his plan of a three-fold campaign to be conducted simultaneously against Fort Du Quesne, Fort Niagara and Crown Point. The governors responded that they had severally applied to their assemblies in vain for the establishment of a common fund, and gave their unanimous opinion that such a fund could never be inaugurated without the aid of Parliament. The councillors approved of the general's plan of operations and agreed that the governments of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania should bear the expense of additional fortifications at Fort Du Quesne after its capture and maintaining a garrison there and also of building any necessary boats for Lake Erie.[22]

The conference over, the governors' dispersed to their respective provinces. Sharpe, who had been disappointed in the expectation of a command from Braddock, now saw an opportunity for military preferment in the contemplated garrisoning of Fort Du Quesne on its capitulation. On April 19, he wrote to John Sharpe asking him to use his influence in securing for him the command of the troops to be stationed there, and intimated that Dinwiddie and Morris would view the appointment with complaisance. But the Maryland executive was again destined to be disappointed.[23]

While at Alexandria, Braddock received instructions from England to have the regiments increased to one thousand men each, and for this purpose, recruiting officers were sent into all parts of Maryland as well as of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Finding that the enlistment was not progressing rapidly enough, the general gave orders for recruiting servants, a course which Governor Sharpe in vain besought him not to pursue, "representing the Mischief & Detriment that the

21. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 189, 194; and Sargent, *Orme's Journal*, p. 297, for this paragraph.
22. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 203; and *Colonial Records*, Vol. VI, pp. 365–68, for this paragraph.
23. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 204.

Inhabitants must suffer from such a measure." The servants, including the convicts, immediately flocked to join the army, and their masters made innumerable applications to Sharpe for relief, which however he was powerless to grant. Governor Sharpe found himself in a difficult position, for, as he wrote to his brother John in May, "Many of the People's Cases really called for Pity & Redress, as the Planters Fortunes here consist in the number of their Servants (who are purchased at high Rates) much as the Estate of an English Farmer does in the Multitude of Cattle." Braddock on his part was immovable, however, believing his present forces inadequate for the undertaking he contemplated.[24]

On April 9, General Braddock gave orders far the first of the troops to leave Alexandria and begin the march for Wills Creek.[25] The water at Alexandria had been found to be unwholesome, and the greatest care and severest punishment had not prevented the immoderate use of liquor by the troops.[26] Braddock believed that greater expedition could be made by dividing his forces and sending half of them through Virginia and the other half through Maryland. On April 9, Sir Peter Halkett and six companies started their march through Virginia to Winchester with orders to remain there until Dinwiddie's road was completed from that town to Wills Creek, or Fort Cumberland, as the frontier post had lately been named. The four other companies followed with the artillery.[27]

On April 18, Colonel Dunbar began his march with his regiment through Maryland to Frederick. With him were sent the ammunition and the military and hospital stores. Thirty of his men were left with the officer at Rock Creek in order to aid in taking supplies from the boats and loading them on wagons for land transportation to Conegocheague. Dunbar sent one company ahead to Conegocheague to assist in forwarding stores from thence to Fort Cumberland. The march outlined for Colonel Dunbar had been planned by Sir John St. Clair.[28] The route proved an unfortunate one in many particulars. Colonel Washington declared later that: "Those who promoted it had rather that the communication be opened that way than through Virginia; but I believe the eyes of the General are now open, and the imposition detected."[29] The evidence obtainable seems to show that St. Clair acted in good faith though injudiciously.

General Braddock followed Dunbar's regiment to Frederick, and upon his arrival there he discovered the troops in want of provisions and lacking horses and wagons, which were to have been supplied by some Pennsylvania farmers according to arrangements completed by St. Clair. Braddock was obliged to send

24. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 194, 204 and 211, for this paragraph.
25. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 194, 203.
26. Sargent, *Orme's Journal*, pp. 297–98.
27. Lowdermilk, *Braddock's Orderly Book*, App., p. xxiii.
28. Sargent, *Orme's Journal*, p. 299.
29. Ford, W. C., *Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 151–52. Letter to W. Fairfax.

into the surrounding counties in order to buy cattle for the subsistence of the troops. Governor Sharpe was in attendance on the general, but, wrote Captain Orme in his *Journal,* "so little is the Authority of a Governor in that Province that he afforded the General no Assistance."[30]

Braddock was obliged to give orders to impress horses and wagons in the surrounding country and the departure of the regiment from Frederick was delayed until April 29.[31] "As the Inhabitants did not show more forwardness here than in Virginia to serve the Troops with their Waggons & Horses," wrote Sharpe in May to John Sharpe, "they were obliged to impress & take all they could find, which the people, not duly considering the necessity of such a proceeding, complain against, especially as they cannot get payment for their Service & Attendance by reason our Assembly would not give or appropriate a small Sum of Money to that & similar uses, tho it was so particularly enjoined them by Sr Thos Robinson's last Letter."[32] Braddock's troops on their march impressed horses and carriages and enlisted servants from the inhabitants of Frederick, Prince George and Baltimore counties.

To insure a sufficient supply of horses and wagons for transportation across the mountains, Braddock took advantage of Benjamin Franklin's presence at Frederick to desire him to contract in Pennsylvania for 150 wagons and 2100 horses for delivery at Fort Cumberland by May 20. Franklin undertook the profitless mission the more readily, because it seemed likely that, since the Pennsylvania Assembly had been exhibiting a stubborn spirit, impressment operations should likewise be conducted in the nearby Pennsylvania counties. "It was proposed," declared Franklin in a printed handbill to the inhabitants of Lancaster, York and Cumberland counties, "to send an armed Force immediately into these Counties, to seize as many of the best Carriages and Horses as should be wanted, and compel as many Persons into the Service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them." These hints are not to be judged merely evidences of Franklin's shrewdness, but, considering Braddock's angered state, had evidently a broad basis in fact. In two weeks, 150 wagons and 259 carrying horses were on their march to Fort Cumberland.[33]

The most unfortunate feature of the Maryland route now presented itself. No road was found to extend through Maryland to Fort Cumberland. Sir John St.

30. Sargent, *Orme's Journal,* pp. 288, 307; and Lowdermilk, W. H., *Cumberland,* pp. 111–12, for this paragraph.

31. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 205, 218.

32. Sharpe's *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 211.

33. For this paragraph, Sargent, *Orme's Journal,* p: 308; Hazard, S., *Pennsylvania Archives,* Vols. II and III. Philadelphia, 1853, Vol. II, pp. 294–96; *Colon. Recs.,* Vol. VI, 376; Ford, W. C., *Washington,* Vol. I, p. 162, f.n.; Smyth, A. H., *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* Vols. I and III, New York, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 393–98, 404.

Clair had been corresponding with Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania, since February in regard to a western road and had planned the route on the assumption that Morris had taken steps to have the road built. But Morris had been unwilling to act without the backing of his Assembly, and Sir John had proceeded without informing himself as to the progress of the work and with only a vague idea of the western topography.[34] When St. Clair learned of the predicament of the troops, he flew into a rage, stormed like a Lyon Rampant," and declared he "would with his Sword drawn pass thro' the Province and treat the Inhabitants as a Parcel of Traitors." His ill-timed anger, which he later regretted, did not better the situation, however, and elicited, so young Shirley said, "a Set down" from the general.[35] Dunbar was forced to march to Conegocheague, where on May 1 he crossed the Potomac and proceeded by a circuitous route of ninety-four miles through Virginia to Fort Cumberland, arriving there on May 10. Because of the difficulty of procuring teams, the artillery and stores did not arrive at the fort until ten days later.[36]

On May 1, General Braddock, Lieutenant Orme, Governor Morris, Mr. W. Shirley, Jr., and Colonel Washington left Frederick for Fort Cumberland and arrived there on the tenth with the troops. Sharpe accompanied them to the borders of Maryland. Colonel Washington had returned to the service on invitation from Braddock to become a member of his personal staff, and he was to take an active and important part in the approaching campaign.[37]

The general found at Fort Cumberland none of the fresh victuals that had been promised the troops and he discovered further that the food supply there was less than he had been led to expect by Dinwiddie's representations. In particular, a contract made by the Virginia commissaries for 500 beeves had been cancelled at the last minute because the Virginia Assembly disapproved of its terms. Colonel Cresap and his son Michael had proven negligent in forwarding from Conegocheague certain provisions left in their charge, especially 14,000 bushels of wheat which the Pennsylvania Assembly had ordered to be purchased. In the emergency, Braddock scoured the frontier for provisions, sending thirty wagons post haste to Winchester for provisions and 300 horses to Conegocheague, ninety miles distant, for the flour stored there. Later he secured through Governor Morris a magazine of provisions at Shippensburg which by the beginning of July con-

34. *Colon. Recs.*, Vol. VI, pp. 300–01, 301–02, 302–03, 318–19, 320–21, 388–89, 373–74, 378, 380–81.

35. *Colon. Recs.*, Vol. VI, pp. 368–69; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II, pp. 292, 293–94, 400, 317, for the preceding.

36. Lowdermilk, *Braddock's Orderly Book*, p. xxix; Sargent, *Orme's Journal*, pp. 308, 312; and Ford, W. C., *Washington*, Vol. I, 153, for the preceding.

37. Sharpe's *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 207; Ford, *Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 141 ff., for this paragraph.

tained sufficient stores for 3000 men for three months. This depot was established chiefly to make possible further operations after the expected reduction of Fort Du Quesne.[38]

On May 22, Braddock wrote to Governor Sharpe that artillery, ammunition and provisions must be immediately sent to him in accordance with the agreement at Alexandria that Fort Du Quesne upon its capture should be maintained by the three governments of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Braddock demanded that the supplies should be sent at once under escort of the Maryland militia. Duplicates of the letter were at the same time transmitted to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and to Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania.[39] Braddock's attitude was one instance of many in which he showed his inability to comprehend colonial political matters. "For want of such a Militia Law as is in force in the Northern Provinces," lamented the Maryland executive, "we can scarcely oblige the people to act in defence of themselves & properties when immediately attacked. How then will they obey our Orders to leave their Business and Families to march out of the Province when they have not the least prospect or Expectation of receiving a Reward for their Trouble."[40]

Governor Sharpe assured the general, as did Governor Morris, that he would attempt to secure the desired supplies at the coming session of the Assembly. The Virginia Assembly, then in session, voted £6000 for Braddock's purposes. An attempt which Sharpe made to secure supplies by public subscription met with so many obstacles that it had to be dropt. The members of the Lower House of the Assembly in the various counties were conspicuous in the opposition, declaring "that if the Governor should raise Money by such Methods, they [the people] must not hope to have any more Assemblies convened but that the people must expect & obey Orders of Council & Ordinances, instead of Laws made by their Representatives & with their own Consent."[41]

Braddock's troops at Fort Cumberland amounted to 2080 men, composed as follows: in the regiments, 1330; the Independent Companies, 260; the Virginia Companies, 350; the Maryland Company, 60; and the North Carolina Company, 80. On May 28, a detachment of 600 men marched from the fort in order to open a road and throw a bridge over Georges Creek, a stream flowing into the Potomac about twelve miles beyond Fort Cumberland. On June 10, while the governor of Pennsylvania was appointing a day of fasting and prayer for his people, Braddock

38. For this paragraph, Sargent, *Orme's Journal,* pp. 311–5; Ford, W. C., *Washington,* Vol. I, p. 161; *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. II, p. 40; Hulbert, A,, *Braddock's Road,* pp. 67–75; *Col. Recs.,* pp. 303, 379, 400, 398, 406–8, 415, 461–62, in Vol. VI.

39. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 210, 221–22; *Colon. Recs.,* Vol. VI, pp. 399–400, 420–21, for the preceding.

40. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, p. 222.

41. Sharpe, *Correspondence,* Vol. I, pp. 215, 251, for this paragraph.

and the main body of the troops started on their route,—a long, straggling line, contending with every kind of difficulty on the way. The mountain roads were almost impassable for the wagons and artillery, and in the first twelve days the troops were only able to proceed forty miles. The wilderness now swallowed up the hosts and only at occasional intervals news filtered back to the East of the progress of the ill-fated army.[42]

A garrison of fifty-two men was left at Fort Cumberland under the command of Colonel James Innes, a North Carolinian who had been a captain at Carthagena in 1740 and had later sold his commission. Thirty of his men were sick, and fifty invalids from the European regiments were also placed under his care. The French allies had been making threats that they would ravage the frontier as soon as Braddock's troops were under way, and Innes made constant and insistent appeals to Maryland and Virginia for re-inforcements. Governor Sharpe pleaded his inability to take any steps and joined Innes in his applications to Dinwiddie.[43]

Believing however that the Indian menaces were something more than the "bravado" which Braddock had characterized them, Sharpe issued a proclamation cautioning the back inhabitants of Maryland to be prepared to defend themselves and each other against hostile incursions, and he sent peremptory orders to the officers of the militia to muster and discipline the men under their command. But no one knew better than the governor how ineffective his action was without an adequate militia law, "without which," Sharpe complained, "I fear very little Dependence is to be had on our Men in Cases of Emergency & Danger."[44]

The Militia Act was to become the bane of Sharpe's existence before the war ended. It was based on a law passed in 1715, continued in 1719, made perpetual in 1722, amended in 1733, and supplemented in 1744.[45] The various emendations and confirmations failed to make the law an adequate one, and some of the members of the Lower House even claimed that the Militia Act was no longer in force.[46] This was scarcely a serious claim; but the loose provisions of the law permitted all sorts of evasions and failed utterly to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed. Of the 26,000 men able to bear arms in the province, various exemptions and practices excused almost 10,000; and of the 16,500 persons who nominally comprised the militia, one-third of the men possessed no arms whatsoever and most of the remainder were poorly equipped. They were likewise undisciplined; and be-

42. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 208, 215, 222, 235; and *Colon. Recs.*, Vol. VI, pp. 422–3, for this paragraph.

43. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 230, 245, 248; and Ford, W., *Washington*, Vol. I, p. 163.

44. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 218, 219, 224; and *Colon. Recs.*, Vol. VI, p. 421, for this paragraph; also *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, pp. 67–8.

45. Bacon, Thos., *Laws of Md.*, 1715, Ch. xliii; 1719, Ch. i; 1722, Ch. xv; 1733, Ch. vii; 1744, Ch. I.

46. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 249.

cause of insufficient penalties for disobedience, the governor's power of summoning them for service usually amounted to little.[47] The act authorized the governor to call out the militia whenever it appeared to him necessary "for the Suppression of any Foreign Invasion, or Domestic Insurrection or Rebellion, or any War with the Indians," and if, as in the case under consideration, an exacting Assembly maintained that none of these exigencies existed, the governor became divested of much of his power, for the "necessary Charges of such war, and Soldiers Pay" were left to be defrayed by the Assembly.[48] The question arose later in the war whether the governor possessed the power to compel the militia to march outside the province. Nothing in the law forbade it, but, as Sharpe pointed out, should such a course be pursued, the Assembly would probably not allow the troops pay or provisions.

The Maryland Assembly met on June 23, 1755, thirteen days after Braddock marched from Fort Cumberland, and on the first day of the session the Indian depredations began. On that day three of the distant inhabitants of Frederick county were killed and eight carried off prisoners. Other murders followed all along the frontier into Virginia and Pennsylvania; and by June 29, the Indians had penetrated into Maryland as far as Conegocheague. By July 8, twenty-six people of the Maryland back country had been killed or carried off.[49]

Meanwhile the Maryland Assembly had been meeting since June 23. Governor Sharpe in his opening address spoke of the plan agreed on at Alexandria for maintaining Fort Du Quesne when it should be taken, and asked the Assembly to make suitable provision for the project. Sharpe also requested that the legislature should take upon it the support of Captain Dagworthy's Maryland Company, then in service, which the governor had raised and financed upon his own initiative. He also called the attention of the delegates to the losses suffered by inhabitants from the impressment of their servants and of their horses and wagons, and asked the Assembly to provide compensation. The Lower House responded by bringing in a bill for £5000 for the support of the French fort, if taken. But the measure contained the old provision for appropriating ordinary licenses and those of peddlers; and the Upper House felt obliged to prevent it from becoming a law. Although the session lasted until July 8, the Lower House would grant money on no other conditions,—neither for Braddock's plan, nor for reimbursing Governor Sharpe, nor for compensating the sufferers from the British impressment.[50]

When the news of the Indian massacres began to reach Annapolis, Sharpe

47. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 353. Letter to Lords of Trade, February 8, 1756.
48. Bacon, Thos., *Laws of Md.*, 1715, Ch. xliii, Art. x.
49. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 232, 238, 239, 243, for this paragraph.
50. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 218, 232, 233, 240, and 245, for this paragraph.

appealed to the Assembly to provide adequate protection against such outrages.[51] The House immediately presented an address, resolving that £2000 should be granted for maintaining eighty men for four months as rangers on the frontier, and they furthermore expressed their intention of defraying "the reasonable Expence of conveying Intelligence from Wills Creek to Annapolis & back thither for four months."[52] As was the case with the earlier bill, the measure contained objectionable features which made it unacceptable to the Upper House: a discriminatory convict duty was provided for and one clause directed that no freeholder or householder should be impressed. In rejecting the bill, the Upper House declared: "it is framed in such a manner that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to be carried into execution so as to answer the purpose proposed for it."[53] Sharpe wrote to Secretary Calvert on July 2 that "the Lower House still persevere in their Obstinacy, & I believe will never recede from what they have been contending for, tho Half the Province should be depopulated. . . . Twill be absolutely to no purpose ever to meet them again."[54] A part of the session was spent in conjuring up the ancient spectre of an uprising of Maryland Catholics in favor of the enemy; and the political situation was somewhat complicated by the disinclination of the governor and his Council in this, as well as in later sessions, to pursue a course of persecution against such a worthy element of the population.[55]

Having prorogued the Assembly on July 8, Sharpe wrote to General Braddock that he could make no more remittances for the support of the Maryland Company, and asked that the men should be divided among the regiments. The western inhabitants were beginning to threaten to leave their plantations; and having failed to succor them through the Assembly, Sharpe sought other means of aiding them. Feeling that the parsimony of the Assembly justified the measure, Sharpe appealed to the public-spirited persons of the province for subscriptions, to be used in raising a troop of two or three hundred men and in putting the frontier in a posture of defense. Subscriptions began pouring in liberally.[56]

On July 11, 1755, news of Braddock's defeat two days before reached Colonel Innes and his handful of men at Fort Cumberland; and Innes sent a despairing message eastward: "As please God I intend to make a stand here, its highly necessary to raise the Militia everywhere to defend the Frontiers."[57] On the fifteenth, news of the disaster reached Annapolis and threw the people "into the greatest

51. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 232.
52. *Colon. Recs.*, Vol. VI, p. 457.
53. Mereness, N. D., *Maryland*, p. 325.
54. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 238.
55. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 316.
56. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 245, 249, 251, for this paragraph.
57. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 246.

consternation."[58] At Baltimore, the panic-stricken inhabitants placed their wives and children on board of boats in the harbor and prepared to fly by water, if necessary, to escape the enemy.[59] The defenceless western settlers, seeing no safety for themselves on the frontier, began their flight eastward toward the more populous districts.

At the first news, Governor Sharpe called the Council together for advice, wrote letters to have the slaves and convicts watched for any signs of disorder, and directed the militia to be prepared to quell insurrection, in case any should be occasioned by the decisive British defeat. Within the next few days, the subscription fund reached the sum of £2000; and Sharpe started on his way to Fort Cumberland "with a number of Gentn & Voluntiers who had entered an Association to bear Arms & protect our Frontiers."[60]

At Frederick he stopped and expended a portion of the money for fresh provisions,—beeves and wine,—thinking that the discomfited troops would be in great need of victuals on their arrival at the fort. With these supplies, he proceeded westward to Conegocheague, thirty miles beyond Frederick, where he learned that the camp was well provisioned and that Colonel Dunbar, the ranking officer, was preparing to leave the fort and retire to Philadelphia with the British troops and the Independents. News of Dunbar's singular decision had already spread like wild-fire over the frontier; and, fearing a renewal of the terrible ravages upon the withdrawal of the army, many of the distant inhabitants decided "to fly naked & leave their habitations than remain an Easy Prey to an Enraged and cruel Enemy." Meeting these fleeing parties, Sharpe was in most instances able to persuade them to return to their homes by assuring them that he personally would see that the security of the frontier would be amply provided for.[61]

Sharpe took immediate steps to effect this end; and at the expense of the subscription fund he ordered four small forts to be erected, one on Tonalloway Creek and three under the North Mountain. In each of these, he directed that a small garrison should be placed with orders to patrol from one fort to the other and to Fort Cumberland, and in case of alarms, to receive neighboring families into their protection.[62]

When Sharpe reached Fort Cumberland, Colonel Dunbar had already made up his mind to retreat to Philadelphia; but after the governor's arrival, Dunbar

58. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 251.

59. T. W. Griffith makes this statement in *Annals of Baltimore* (1824), p. 24, on the authority of "the respectable relict of Mr. Moale, who was a daughter of the late Captain North and the oldest native of the place now living."

60. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 251, 259, for this paragraph; also *Md. Archives,* XXXI, 68.

61. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 256, 261, 262, 265, for this paragraph.

62. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp, 262, 273, for this paragraph.

received a letter from Dinwiddie, offering to re-inforce him with four hundred men and urging him in very strong terms to march on the enemy, recover the cannon and stores, and attempt again the reduction of Fort Du Quesne. The next day, the colonel called a council of war, consisting of Colonel Gage, Sir John St. Clair and Governor Sharpe, and he submitted the letter for their consideration.[63] The question he asked the councillors was: whether or not he should turn and lead the army once more on Du Quesne. "Colonel Dunbar," so Sharpe testified to his brother John in a letter some time after (April 2, 1756), "never consulted any of us on the propriety of marching the Regiments to Philadelphia immediately after the Action & leaving the Frontiers . . . exposed. Had he asked my Opinion thereon, He would not, I assure you, have obtained my Consent, for I thought then, as I do now, that there was a wide Difference between marching such an Army as his was to attack Fort Du Quesne without Artillery or other Stores & remaining on the Defensive at Fort Cumberland or any other advanced post between that & the Ohio. The last in my Opinion would have been proper & a very prudent Step, but the first the Height of Quixiotism."[64]

The councillors were unanimous in agreeing that an immediate advance on the French was not to be thought of. The soldiers were so dispirited and wasted with fatigue, that Sharpe wrote to Dinwiddie, "I question if Orders to march westward would not incline half of them to desert their Colours."[65] Moreover, it would have been impossible to gather supplies for a new expedition, for the horses and wagons lost in the British rout had not yet been paid for and the countrymen were clamoring for their money. In addition, the arms and ammunition of the army, amounting to £100,000 sterling, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and all the artillery had been abandoned but two (or four) six-pounders. Finally, Braddock's papers and instructions had been lost, and the chance of surprising the enemy had thus been sacrificed. Under these circumstances, the council of war rejected the advice of Dinwiddie's letter.[66]

On August 2, Dunbar left Fort Cumberland for Philadelphia, taking with him the regular troops and the New York and South Carolina Independent Companies. He reached Philadelphia on August 29; and later moved north so as to be of aid to Shirley in his projected campaign against Niagara. Dunbar's withdrawal caused much bitterness in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, whose people felt themselves abandoned in a time of dire need. Fearing for their lives and doubting the efficacy of Sharpe's stockade protection, many Maryland settlers in the district ex-

63. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. II, pp. 118–20; and Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 396, for the preceding.

64. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 388.

65. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 266.

66. Sharpe, *Correspondence*; Vol. I, pp. 266, 274, 338, 263, 269, for this paragraph.

tending thirty miles east of Fort Cumberland deserted their homes and fled toward the more populous sections within a month after Dunbar's departure.[67]

The effect on the garrison left at Fort Cumberland had been equally as demoralizing. The Virginia and Maryland troops had been left at the post under the command of Captain Dagworthy, and Sharpe had applied what was left of the subscription money to continuing the Maryland Company in service. But as soon as Dunbar had retired with the British troops, desertions began to occur daily in the provincial ranks, especially among the Virginia troops, for the soldiers declared "they were left by the Regulars as a Prey for the Enemy."[68] Being no longer in conjunction with the regular troops, the provisions of the British Mutiny Bill were no longer operative; and the men could desert practically at will, since none of the officers was vested with powers to hold courts martial. If the Carolina Independent Company had been left at the fort, the matter would have been remedied, and Sharpe felt very bitterly toward Dunbar because of his action.[69]

By October, the original garrison of three hundred men had dwindled to one hundred and thirty-seven, although only a few of the offenders appear to have been enrolled in the Maryland Company.[70]

Meanwhile, the Indians had descended upon the frontiers and the devastation and slaughter had been especially heavy in the neighboring provinces. Maryland, however, shared in the sufferings. Captain Dagworthy reported to Governor Sharpe that, from October 1 to October 11, many families had been cut off who dwelt near Fort Cumberland, on both sides of the Potomac and to the east of the fort, probably one hundred persons in all.[71] "Parties of the Enemy appear within Sight of Fort Cumberland every Day & frequently in greater Numbers than the Garrison consists of," wrote Sharpe to Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania, on October 11, 1755.[72] So frightened did the people of Annapolis become by the flying rumors of Indian massacres and surprises that they began fortifying the town.[73]

Sharpe ascribed the comparative immunity of Maryland at this time to his stockade system. He had placed twenty men under Lieutenant Stoddert at the Tonalloway fort and smaller bodies at the other stockades, and supported them by means of the subscription. He also ordered a body of thirty men from the militia of each county west of the Bay to range on the frontiers for a month's time;

67. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 265, 270–1, 279; and *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. II, pp. 164, 172, 193, 223, for this paragraph.
68. *Dinwiddie Papers* Vol. II, p. 193.
69. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 161, 279, 284, 278, for this paragraph.
70. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 271, 273, 279, 284, 292.
71. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 290, 307, 309, for the preceding.
72. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 292.
73. *Maryland Gazette,* November 6, 1755, quoted by Riley, E. S., *The Ancient City,* Annapolis, 1887, Vol. I, p. 160.

and he records that at least three counties responded.promptly.[74] "These Parties," Sharpe wrote, "I believe have been in great measure the Protection of our People who have escaped uninjured [?] while Numbers of People in Pensa have been cut off within Ten Miles of our Forts."[75]

As early as August 11, 1755, Sharpe suggested to the neighboring governors that similar systems of defence should be tried in those provinces. The Pennsylvania Assembly refused to grant supplies for this purpose for some time; but by January, 1756, Governor Morris was enabled to begin the construction of a series of forts stretching from the Delaware westwards, to be garrisoned by 800 men. In Virginia, a more elaborate frontier defence was planned; but because of lack of funds, only a few stockades were built, including one at Winchester.[76]

Dunbar's retreat with its aftermath of Indian horrors constituted the final episode in the Braddock campaign. The coming two years were to see a succession of generals appointed to the chief command in America, until in November, 1758, a sick man, Brigadier-General Joseph Forbes, became the instrument of frightening the French from their Ohio fort.

In 1756, Governor Sharp received from General Shirley the appointment as head of a proposed provincial expedition against Fort Du Quesne;[77] but his period of command lasted only a few months, and as he was "without Men or Money, Provisions, Arms, Ammunition or Credit," his appointment was scarcely worth the paper on which it was written.[78] In the three years following Braddock's disaster, the Maryland Assembly succeeded in appropriating only £40,000 currency for war purposes in seven sessions;[79] and much of its time was occupied in altercations with the various military. leaders and with the governor. Sharpe was busy throughout these years in attempting to secure the frontier from hostile incursions; and in 1756, he constructed in western Maryland Fort Frederick, one of the first stone forts ever built in the southern provinces.[80]

In the Forbes campaign of 1758, Governor Sharpe took a part which even Daniel Dulany grudgingly characterized in 1764 as "very alert & serviceable."[81] At a sacrifice of time and money, Sharpe showed himself of considerable aid in the gathering of provisions; and when the general had started on the western march,

74. For the preceding, Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 274, 279, 287, 297, 314; and *Maryland Gazette*, October 9, 1755, quoted in Scharf, J., *Maryland*, Vol. I, p. 471.
75. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 336. Letter to Calvert, January 5, 1756.
76. For this paragraph, Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 266–67, 336, 340, 341; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II, pp. 564–65, 569–70; Ford, W., *Washington*, Vol. I, pp. 417–20, 371–73.
77. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 350.
78. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 385. See also, pp. 351, 379, and 381.
79. Bacon, Thos., *Laws of Maryland*, 1756, Ch. v; 1756, Ch. xix; 1757, Ch. i.
80. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 452, 466–67, 469.
81. *Calvert Papers*, No. 2, p. 229.

Sharpe exhibited an equal zeal in attempting to rally the inhabitants to the public defense.

The French evacuation of Fort Du Quesne ended Maryland's activities and interest in the war. The battleground of the conflict shifted definitely to the north, and the Marylanders settled down to their pre-Revolutionary struggles with the lord proprietor and the Crown.

Comment

My father wrote most of this two-part essay when he was twenty-three years old and a graduate student at Columbia. He was born in Xenia, Ohio, in 1888 and graduated from Ohio State University in 1910. Fortified by references (a senior professor at Ohio State testified that his was "the best record ever made by an undergraduate here"), he applied to Columbia and Harvard for fellowships. Both universities accepted him, and, tempted by New York City, he chose Columbia. A dozen years later, the same two universities offered him tenured professorships, and he chose Harvard.

At the Columbia graduate school, he was stimulated by James Harvey Robinson and his *The New History* and by Charles A. Beard and his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.* He had hoped to write his PhD dissertation with Beard, but his fellowship required him to work with the colonial historian, Herbert L. Osgood, whom my father regarded as the most boring lecturer and the most thorough scholar he had ever met. Osgood directed his students to primary sources, which was valuable training, and the article published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* served as my father's Master's thesis and provided material about Maryland for his PhD dissertation.

His dissertation combined Osgood's research methods with Beard's analytic insights. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776* was published in 1918. Privately Beard had written my father, "Don't mention my name in your preface. It is a red flag to the historical bull. . . . Don't say a word in title or text about 'economic interpretation.' . . . Just gives the mob a chance to yell and to kill you. I know from experience." Publicly, in the *New Republic,* Beard praised *Colonial Merchants* as "the most significant contribution that has ever been made to the history of the American Revolution." It remains, nearly a century later, a prime factor in the historiography of the Revolution.

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The Acadians (French Neutrals) Transported to Maryland

BASIL SOLLERS

By the aid of the *Maryland Gazette*, that invaluable source of light upon Maryland affairs for thirty years before the American Revolution, let us try to realize something of the condition of thought and feeling in the Province of Maryland in the Fall of the memorable year 1755, when Lisbon Town

> "Saw the earth open and gulp her down,
> And Braddock's Army was done so brown,
> Left without a scalp to its crown"

We will begin with some stanzas from "A Recruiting Song for the Maryland Independent Company" written by an officer of the Company in Sept., 1754.

> Over the Hills with Heart we go,
> To fight the proud insulting Foe;
> Our Country calls, and we'll obey
> Over the Hills, and far Away.
>
> Chorus: Over the Mountains' dreary Waste,
> To meet the Enemy we haste,
> Our King commands and we'll obey
> Over the Hills and far away.
>
> No Popery nor Slavery,
> No arbitrary Pow'r for me.
> But Royal George's righteous Cause
> The Protestant and British Laws.
>
> Chorus: Over the Mountains' dreary Waste.
>
> .....
>
> Whoe'er is bold, whoe'er is free
> Will join and come along with me;

This article first appeared in volume 3 (1908). Basil Sollers (1853–1909), grew up on his family's farm in Baltimore County. He taught at the House of Refuge (later the Maryland School for Boys) and later worked as a group principal in the Baltimore City school system. As a member and officer of the Maryland Historical Society, Sollers prepared several papers to be read at society meetings.

To drive the French without delay,
Over the Hills, and far Away.
Chorus: Over the Rocks, and o'er the steep,
Over the Waters wide and deep,
We'll drive the French without delay,
Over the Lakes and far away.
.....
On fair Ohio's Banks we Stand,
Musket and Bayonet in Hand;
The French are beat, they dare not stay,
But trust to their Heels and run away.
Chorus: Over the Rocks, and o'er the steep.

The *Gazette* of July 17, 1755, says: "We have been filled with concern and a melancholy diffus'd on some Reports which have been brought to Town of General Braddock's Army having met with a severe Blow from the French and Indians, but the Reports are so vague and uncertain, that we cannot insert them, as they clash and are contradictory, and leave some room to hope that his Excellency may yet be well, and instead of being conquered, be the conqueror. For knowing truly the Event, we must submit to Time, and next week our Readers may expect a further account." In the issue of July 24, more is known of "that melancholy affair" of the 9th instant, and "subscription papers having been handed about to raise a sum of money towards defending our Frontier Inhabitants," a thousand pounds was subscribed in a few days in Anne Arundel Co. alone. In the *Gazette* of July 31 details have arrived of the scalping and plundering, and killing of prisoners by the Indians. The editor breaks out in parentheses "[Oh Horrid Barbarity! to kill in cold Blood; But, Protestant Reader, such is the Treatment we may expect to receive from his most Christian Majesty's American Allies; if we should be so unhappy as to fall into their Hands, except we give up our Religion, Liberty, and every Thing that is dear and valuable, and submit to be his Vassals, and Dupes to the Romish Clergy, whose most tender Mercies are but hellish cruelties, wherever they have power to exercise them]."

Terror seems for a time to have taken possession of the people and all sorts of rumors were circulated and believed. The Master of a ship waiting for freight was accused of having brought in warlike stores for the French and Roman Catholics and offers a reward for the discovery of the author of the scandalous and malicious lies. Under Boston news is published Sept. 4 an extract from a letter, dated July 27, from a Gentleman in New York to a friend in Boston. "The Western Colonies are in great Consternation and Tumult, the Mob were with Great Difficulty prevented from pulling down the Mass-House in Philadelphia; the Papists having shown some joy upon the News of the Defeat. At Lancaster, where they abound,

Night Watches are regularly kept. Pennsylvania is truly in a hopeful Condition; these are early Proofs of the little Reason they had for boasting of their sudden Growth, by the Importation of Foreigners from Germany; and the Quakers are a blessed Ballance."

Sept. 4 the *Gazette* publishes an account of the number of people on the continent exclusive of military forces in pay of the Government and Negroes. According to this account, the English Colonies from Halifax to Georgia have 1,050,000 inhabitants, Maryland having 85,000, and the French have but 52,000, of which 45,000 are in Canada and 7,000 in Louisiana," so that the English are more than in the proportion of 20 to 1; but (in the words of a memorial quoted by the author of the State of the British and French Colonies in North America) 'Union, Situation, proper Management of the Indians; superior knowledge of the Country, and constant Application to a Purpose, will more than ballance divided numbers, and will easily break a Rope of sand.'"

During the months of October and November the excitement was on the increase and companies were being organized and marched to the assistance and defence of our distressed friends of the back parts of the Province, from which the inhabitants were flocking in great number "to the more thick settled parts." Oct. 23 Capt. Alexander Beall and Lieutenant Samuel Wade Magruder had marched with 31 Volunteers from the lower part of Frederick Co. (now Montgomery Co.) toward the Western frontiers, and Col. Henry Ridgely will take the same route next Saturday, and on Monday next "a party of volunteers of about 60 young hearty men will set out for the Westward from Prince George's Co." Thursday, Nov. 6, the excitement had not abated. The companies were on the march. Alarming accounts of the damage done by the French and their Indians were frequent. There was room to hope they were told with exaggeration; but "it was certain that they frequently commit murders, and laid much of the, county waste, and that they draw nigher and nigher." "We are now about entrenching the Town" (Annapolis), says the editor. "If the Gentlemen in the Neighborhood of Annapolis were to send their force to assist in it, a few days would complete the work."

An alarmed correspondent wrote:

"The Indian Enemy now are within a little way of us, and while the main body keep together, 'tis very possible, nay highly probable, that a small Party of Twenty or Thirty of these, marching in the Night, and skulking in the Day-time, may come upon us unaware in the Dead of night, burn our Houses, and Cut our Throats, before we can put ourselves in any posture of Defence."

Thursday, Nov. 13. The *Gazette* says: "Upon the spreading of a Report last Thursday (which proved to be false)"—this was the date of the above communication—"that a great number of French and Indians were within thirty miles of Baltimore Town, a great Number of Men, well arm'd immediately resorted thither to their Defence and Assistance, and it is said that near Two Thousand resolute

men would have been in the Place, by Friday night or Saturday morning, to have gone against the Enemy, if they had not been stopp'd by the contradicting the Report." "From almost every Part of the Province we have accounts of great numbers of People assembling with their arms on the above Report." "Such numbers of false Reports and alarms may be a sufficient excuse for publishing the following Fable," adds the editor, and thereupon we have the story of the shepherd boy who cried Wolf! Wolf!

This it seems was the high water mark of the excitement, for in the issue of the *Gazette* for Thursday, Dec. 4, the announcement is made that "last Saturday several of the Gentlemen of our neighborhood, who lately went out Volunteers to the Westward, returned home again, having seen no Indians, except one, and he was very quiet, for they found him dead."

While the minds of the people of Maryland were occupied with these real or imaginary dangers so near at hand, some items of news had appeared from time to time in the *Gazette* which doubtless attracted some attention of the kind usually paid to affairs occurring at a distance, but which more nearly concern our subject. On Sept. 4 a dispatch from Halifax was copied from the Boston paper of Aug. 18.

"That it being determined to remove the French Inhabitants, Seven Thousand of them are to be disposed of among the British Governments between Nova Scotia and Georgia; for which Purpose all the Vessels in Halifax fit for that service are taken up, and Orders are come to Town to engage as many Vessels as will carry two Thousand Persons."

Sept. 11 an extract appears from a letter dated Halifax, Aug. 9: "We are now upon a great and noble Scheme of sending the Neutral French out of this Province, who have always been secret Enemies, and have encouraged our Savages to cut our Throats. If we effect their Expulsion; it will be one of the greatest Things that ever the English did in America, for by all the accounts that Part of the Country they possess is as good Land as any in the World. In case therefore we could get some good English Farmers in their Room, this Province would abound with all kinds of Provisions."

Sept. 25 we have news from Boston, dated Sept. 8.

"Last week several Vessels arrived here from Halifax, and by Letters from Gentlemen of the best Intelligence there, we are told that in three Weeks' Time all the French in Nova Scotia would be removed out of the Province, but to what place not known. . . . That Col. Monckton had orders to destroy every French vessel, Boat or Canoe he could find in any Harbour, Bay, Creek or River in the Province to prevent the Inhabitants from making their Escape. That nine Transports were gone to Minas, to take as many of the Neutrals as they could carry, and that three Priests or Jesuits had been taken and sent to Halifax, and put on board the Admiral's ship for security, in order to be sent to England."

I have presented the course of events, the rumors, items of news, etc., which

came to the people of Maryland through their only public source of information, the Maryland *Gazette*, in order to indicate the state of feeling toward these French Catholic enemies, which might be expected to exist in the minds of men who had long considered the French as their principal national opponents, and the Catholics as uncompromising foes to their religion. It is not my intention to enter, except briefly, into the reasons given for expelling the French Neutrals, nor at all into the question of the motives of those who determined upon the act and carried it into execution.

In consequence of the refusal of the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty without the qualification that they were not to be required to perform military service, a service which might array them in arms against their fellows in race and religion, it was determined by the Governor and Council to send all the French inhabitants out of the Province, and to distribute them among the several Colonies on the Continent. From the time of the treaty of Utrecht which put them under the English rule, they had been allowed to take the oath with the conditions which their conscientious scruples required. One expression used to the deputies upon their refusal to take the oath without qualification should be noted before leaving this portion of the subject.

"They were then informed that as they had now for their own particulars refused to take the oath as directed by law, and thereby sufficiently evinced the sincerity of their inclination towards the Government, the Council could no longer look on them as subjects to his Britannic Majesty, but as subjects to the King of France, and as such they must hereafter be treated."

Col. Winslow, of Massachusetts, was put in charge of securing and embarking the inhabitants of Grand Pré and adjacent parts. His report mentions two vessels whose destination was Maryland. These were the *Leopard*, 87 tons burden, Thomas Church, master, and the *Elizabeth*, 93 tons burden, Nathaniel Milbury, master. The orders were that two persons per ton burden were to be placed upon the transports. The *Leopard* received 178, an excess of 4, and the *Elizabeth* 242, an excess of 56 over her complement. The crowding more than her complement on board a transport was a double injury to these involuntary passengers. It made their situation less comfortable and more dangerous to health, and at the same time prevented them from carrying with them as much of their household goods as they otherwise could have done. They were allowed to take with them their money and only such clothing, bedding, etc., as could be embarked without overcrowding the vessels. These transports were ready on the 11th of October.

The *Ranger*, 90 tons burden, Francis Peirey, master, and the *Dolphin*, 87 tons burden, Zebad Farman, master, received respectively, 263 and 230 passengers, or 83 and 56 over their complements according to tonnage. These were embarked from Peziquid, under the direction of Capt. Murray. This makes 420 from Grand

Pré and 493 from Peziquid, a total, of 913 passengers for Maryland, who had been declared the King's prisoners.

The allowance of provisions directed in one order by Gov. Lawrence to be put on board the transports was one pound of flour and a half pound of bread per day for each person, and a pound of beef per week to each. In the instructions to Col. Winslow of August 11 by the same Governor Lawrence, five pounds of flour and one pound of pork for every seven days is the rate given.

The sailing orders to the captains of vessels were as follows:

"To Capt. Thomas Church, commander of the Schooner *Leopard. Sir.* You have rec'd on Board your Schooner One Hundred and Seventy-Five Men, Women and Children, being part of the French Inhabitants of the Province of Nova Scotia. You are to Proceed with them when wind and weather Permits to his Majesty's Government of Mary Land, and upon your arrival there you are to waite on the Honble Horatio Sharpe, Esqr., Lieut. Governor and commander in chief of that His Majesty's collony or other Commander in Chief for the time being & Deliver to him the Packett herewith sent, and make all Possible Despatch in Debarking your Passengers, and obtaining Certificates according to the Forms Inclosed to sd Govrs, and you are to take care that no arms or offensive weapons are on Board with your Passengers, and to be Careful & Watchful as Possible Dureing the whole Corse of your voyage to Prevent the Passengers from making an attempt to Seize your Vessel by allowing only a small number to be on the Deck at a Time, and using all other necessary Precautions to Prevent the Bad consequences of such an attempt, and you are also to see that the Provisions be regularly Issued to the People agreeable to Mr. Souls[1] Instructions which he will deliver you, and for your Greater Security you are to waite on Dudley Diggs, Esqr., Commander of his Majesty's Ship *Nightengill* & Desire the Benefit of his convoye. Wish you a successful voyage:

"Given under my hand at the Camp at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, the 13th Day of October, Anno Domini 1755:

"JOHN WINSLOW."

The same sailing orders were received by Capt. Milbury, whose vessel, the *Elizabeth*, was reported by Winslow as containing 186 passengers, though before sailing it is stated she had 242. Some light may be thrown upon this by a letter from Capt. Murray to Col. Winslow, dated Fort Edward, Oct. 19, entreating that additional transports be sent with all dispatch. "I am afraid," he says, "the Govr. will think me dilatory. My people are all ready, and if you think I may venture to put the Inhabitants on Board Davis (Captain of the Sloop *Neptune*) I will do it. Even then with the three ships and his schooner they will be stowed in Bulk, but if I have no more vessels I will put them all aboard, let the consequences be what it

1. Mr. George Soul was appointed by Gov. Lawrence to act as Agent Victualler.

will." We have already seen that the *Dolphin* and *Ranger*, the two vessels loaded by Capt. Murray for Maryland, had 56 and 83 more than their tonnage allowance.

Nov. 5, 1755, six transports with French neutrals on Board were lying in the harbor of Boston, having met with a furious gale after their departure from Mines Basin, and entered to seek shelter. Two of these vessels were the *Dolphin* and the *Ranger*, bound for Maryland. A Report was made by order of the Council into the state of the French on board these six transports. The passengers on board one are "well in general," on another, healthy but complain of short allowance, on a third, healthy but complain of short allowance of water; a fourth, the *Neptune*, Capt. Davis, healthy, tho' about 40 lie upon the deck. The other two vessels are the *Dolphin* and the *Ranger*, bound for Maryland. The passengers on the *Dolphin* are "sickley, occasioned by being to much crowded, 40 lying on deck;" those on the *Ranger* are "Sickly & their water very bad. They want an allow'e of Rum &c." The report notes "The vessels in general are too much crowded; their allowance of Provisions short being 1 lb. of Beef, 5 lb. Flour and 2 lb. Bread per man per week and too small a quantity to that allowance to carry them to the Parts they are bound to especially at this season of the year; and their water very bad."

Maryland *Gazette*, Thursday, Nov. 20:

"Two ships with Neutral French, from Nova Scotia, are arrived in Philadelphia.

"And, just now one vessel, from Halifax, with French (falsely called) Neutrals, is arrived in our Dock."

This was the *Leopard*, Capt. Church, the only one of the vessels sent to Maryland that was not greatly overburdened.

Maryland Gazette, Thursday, Dec. 4:

Sunday last (Nov: 30) arrived here the two last of the vessels from Nova Scotia, with French Neutrals for this Place, which makes four within this Fortnight who have brought upward of Nine Hundred of them. While they have been in this Port, the Town has been at considerable Charge in supporting them, as they appear very needy, and quite exhausted in Provisions; and as it cannot be expected that the charge or Burden of maintaining such a Multitude, can be supported by the Inhabitants of Annapolis (a small part of the public Society when compared to the People of the whole Province, and who upon his Occasion have been very liberal) It will be necessary soon to disperse them to different Parts of the Province. As the Poor People have been deprived of their Settlements in Nova Scotia, and sent here (for some very Political Reason) bare and destitute, Christian Charity, nay common Humanity, calls on every one, according to their ability, to lend their assistance and help to these objects of compassion. We are told that three of these vessels are to sail with the first wind (which we heartily wish soon to happen); one for Patuxent River, another for Choptank, and a third to Wicomico, there to wait the orders of. his Excellency the Governor."

From the Postscript to a Letter written by Daniel Dulany, dated Annapolis, 9

Dec., 1755, we learn that "our proportion being nine hundred and three are already arrived at this place, and have almost eat us up." . . . "What is to be done with these people," he continues, "God knows." "It was proposed to them to sign indentures for a short term, (They insist on being treated as prisoners of War) which they have refused. As there is no provision for them, they have been supported by private subscription. Political consideration may make this a prudent step for anything I know, and perhaps their behavior may have deservedly brought these sufferings upon them, but 'tis impossible not to compassionate their distress."

Mr. Callister, a benevolent merchant of Oxford, writing to Gov. Sharpe, Jan. 17, 1756, in behalf "of those wretched exiles among us," tells of the trouble and expense he has been put to in endeavoring to supply them with shelter and necessities. "Inclosed," he says, "is an account of the charge these people have put me to since they landed. You will easily imagine to yourself there are a thousand articles I could not with decency make a charge of. When the distressed see a man's breast open for their relief, they come in at that door; and it is sufficient to give a hint of the trouble and expense of it." . . . "The simple French at Annapolis, I am told, called themselves prisoners of war. They did so here likewise at first, but they were soon made sensible of their mistake. Indeed, they might easily be forgiven, when one considers." . . . "This is still a dilemma to them, and may well puzzle wiser heads, especially as they say in their address, that they were treated as prisoners of war by Governor Lawrence. They might have thought themselves not only in duty bound to declare themselves prisoners, but also in that character to be entitled to better treatment than they have met with as faithful subjects."

Three of the vessels had been sent as indicated in the *Gazette* of Dec. 4 to the Patuxent, Choptank and Wicomico rivers, respectively, and thence distributed to the adjacent counties. The fourth was retained at Annapolis; the allotment of Baltimore County were sent in a vessel employed by the Governor, and landed at Philpotts point. On the Records of the Baltimore County Court, March term, 1756, is the following:

"Andrew Stygar exhibits to this Court the following account which is ordered to be recorded, viz.:

1758 Baltimore County		Dr.	
To carting the freneh neutrals goods from Mr. Philpots Point to Baltimore Town	2	14	0
To maintaining the french neutrals 11 days at 50p. P day	17	17	6
To 1/2 cord wood	0	12	

Errors excepted,
Andrew+(his mark) Stygar."

The Legislature met March, 1756. The governor at once (March 16) sent a com-

munication to the Lower House concerning "the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who by the advice of the Council had been divided and distributed to every part of the Province except Frederick County." "Most of them," says the governor, "are, at present, entertained in such Gentlemens Families as Charity inclines to receive them; it remains with you to dispose of them otherwise, or provide for their support as you shall judge proper. A number of them that were put on shore at Oxford and Somerset County, were, till their Separation, supplied with provisions and some necessaries by Mr. Callister and Capt. Lowes, as you will learn from these gentlemen's account, which they desire me to lay before you, hoping that you will reimburse them the expenses they have been at, as well as discharge Mr. Middleton's Bill for carrying some of these People from Annapolis to Baltimore by my order. . . . The Bundle of Letters and Papers herewith sent will shew you how much each of these gentlemen expended, what induced them to do so, and persuaded them that the safety of the Province indispensably required it." The governor on April 19, again reminded the Lower House of "the unhappy condition of many of the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia whose humble petition you have had some time before you." He recommended to their consideration a copy of an Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly "for the relief of as many of these People as were imported in that Province" and advised that a bill be prepared for preventing the Acadians from leaving the Counties to which they had been sent, and "for punishing such of them as may presume to travel to, or be discovered near our Western Frontiers." April 23 the Delegates in reply promise immediately to take the matter into consideration and: "endeavor to fix on some Expedient" for the relief of the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and secure the other objects recommended by the Governor.

The Expedient fixed on is entitled "An Act to impower the Justices of the Several County Courts to make Provision for the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and for regulating their conduct."

Before considering this Act it will be well to recall that the Acadians according to the testimony of Mr. Dulany and Mr. Callister regarded themselves as prisoners of war and entitled to be supported as such. In view of the fact that they had been told that they could no longer be looked upon as subjects of his Britannic Majesty, but as subjects of the King of France, and had been designated as the "King's prisoners," it is difficult to understand in what other light they could be considered as regards those who had made them prisoners. But these prisoners of war had been landed in a Province whose prisoners they were not, without any provision for their support on the part of those whose prisoners they were, and the Legislature seems to have taken the view that as regards the Province of Maryland they were, as other unfortunate persons, to be supported only so far as unable from infirmity to support themselves, and when able to labor for their own support to be compelled to do so.

The preamble to the Act recites that "the Governor and Council of Nova

Scotia have thought it most advantageous to the British interest in North America, to transport many of the Inhabitants thereof, into other of his Majesty's colonies, Numbers of whom have been brought into this Province, and in Compassion to their unhappy circumstances have been permitted to land and have been dispersed into different counties within this Province in order to give them an opportunity of exercising their own Labour and Industry, thereby to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves. Notwithstanding which many of them through Obstinacy, and other from Indolence, have absolutely refused and declined making use of such means of subsistence, and have thereby become a considerable Burthen upon the charitable and well disposed People of the several counties." "For the prevention whereof for the future and to prevent such of them as are not able to subsist themselves from perishing," the Act is passed.

The Justices of the several Counties are empowered "in the same manner that they now take care of and Provide for the Poor of their respective Counties to take care and provide for such of the said French Neutrals in their respective Counties as they shall deem to be real objects of Charity." If any County have more than their allotment of French Neutrals, it is authorized to send the overplus to other counties who have less than their allotment, and these counties are required to receive them, but none are to be sent into Frederick County. If any of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia shall be unable to support their children by their own labour and industry, the Justices of the County Courts are authorized to bind out such children to some person upon the best terms they can make, for the ease of the county, as well as the benefit of the children, in the same manner that orphans are bound out by the laws of this Province, "provided nevertheless that if his most Sacred Majesty should be graciously pleased to order the said Inhabitants of Nova Scotia to any other Part of his Majesty's Dominions, or elsewhere, that then, in such case, all manner of contracts, which shall have been made by the Justices aforesaid shall be absolutely void and of none effect." If any of the late inhabitants of Nova Scotia, after the first day of June next, being person of ability of body shall use wandering and loitering, and refuse to work for reasonable wages, they shall be apprehended by order of any Justice of the Peace and sent to the public gaol, there to remain until they are willing to labor for subsistence.

Thus far the provisions are the same as provided for indigent infirm persons, and for healthy idlers with no visible means of support, in general. To the Acadians it was a terrible reverse of fortune to have their comfortable houses, their crops and barns, their cattle and farming implements forcibly taken from them, and to be themselves transported in crowded vessels, ill-supplied with food and drink, to strange counties, and there placed naked of provisions among people, different in race, language and religion; a heavy responsibility rests upon those who were the authors of this removal and of the infliction of these wrongs, but when the Legislature of Maryland found these unfortunates among them in an abject state of pov-

erty, it is all that could be expected, it seems to me, that they treated these newcomers as they treated those of their own people who were in a like indigent condition.

It was further provided in the act under consideration "that if any of the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia should be found traveling above the distance of ten miles from their abode, or out of the county where they resided without a Pass from some Provincial or County Magistrate, describing the person or persons of such French Neutrals, mentioning their Place of residence, and whither they are going, and limiting a time for their Return," it was made lawful for any person to arrest such travelers and take them before a. magistrate, who after investigation, was directed to imprison them for five days and then send them back to their former residence. In order to facilitate this return, the constables of the several hundreds were directed "to take and return to the next August Court of their respective Counties, to be entered on the Records of the said County, an exact list of all and every such French Neutral, in their several hundreds, distinguishing therein their men, women, boys and girls."

This act was to continue in force for one year. At the termination of that period it was renewed for a second year.

In Gov. Sharpe's correspondence is a letter from Gov. Lawrence, of Halifax, dated July 1st, 1756. He says: "I am well informed that many of the French Inhabitants transported last year from this Province and distributed among the different Colonies upon the Continent, have procured small vessels and embarked on Board them in order to return by coasting from Colony to Colony, and that several of them are now actually on their way." As their success would frustrate the design in sending them away at so prodigious an expense, and greatly endanger the security of the Province, he asks Gov. Sharpe to use his utmost endeavors "to prevent the accomplishment of so pernicious an undertaking by destroying such vessels as those in your colony may have prepared for that purpose, and all that may attempt to pass thro' any part of your Government either by Land or Water in their way hither."

Gov. Sharpe in reply assures Gov. Lawrence "that none of the French who were imported into this Province last year from Nova Scotia have been suffered either by land or water to return again thither. I did indeed, sometime ago, hear that those who were by you sent to South Carolina had embarked in some small vessels and were returning Northw^{d}, but I could never learn that any of them landed in this Province to refresh themselves or on any other account: You may be assured that if any of them should hereafter touch here, I will prevent their re-embarking & that I will by having the enclosed Act of Assembly strictly put in Execution within this Government hinder any of those that were sent hither from returning to give you Trouble or Uneasiness."

I have found a few instances which show that the story of the separation of families was no fiction. "Two of the Neutrals, one imported at New York and the

other here," writes Feb. 2, 1756, Gov. Morris, of Pennsylvania, "have obtained my Leave to go to Annapolis in quest of their Families, who they think are in some of the Ships which have arrived in your Province. If they light of them, or any other of the wives & children belonging to those imported here, I desire the favour of you to suffer as many to come to their Friends here as these two will undertake to conduct and defray the charges of their Journey. I do not mean to put you or myself to any Expense for their removal. But if Joseph Munier and Simon Leblanc, who are recommended to me as good and worthy People, and one of whom had been in the Service of his Majesty, will bring any here at their own Expense, I desire they may be indulged to do it." Gov. Sharpe replied Feb. 14: "Your request in favour of Munier and Leblanc shall be complied with whenever they desire to return to Phila. The wife and Family of the first are here, the other is gone to look for his in a distant part of the Province."

Jaques Le Blanc petitioned June, 1758 the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts "That he is one of the late Inhabitants of Nova Scotia and together with the rest of his, except his son, were sent to this Province and he begged as it had been for his life that He might be also sent with him, but could not obtain it and he was sent to Maryland from whence he has received letters from him with advice that the Government there are willing to give Him a passport if this Government will receive Him." He prays that "the Honorable Court will not now deny him his own son to alleviate his misfortune in the loss of his estate, especially as it can be granted without any charge to them," Captain Beale, a responsible man of Baintree, having given his hand that he will indemnify the public. To move the Court he states: "Your Petitioner the year Cape Breton was taken saved the life of an Englishman, one Joseph Lugar, who with four others were set upon by the Indians at Merlequist, and after they had killed the rest would have killed this also if your Petitioner had not given 15 Dollars for his ransom and to make up the sum actually parted with the coat off his Back."

"Upon Capt. Benjamin Beale giving security that the Petitioner's son shall be supported in case of his arrival here without any charge to the Province," a certificate is granted signifying that his son may come into the Province.

From the time of the dispersal of the Acadians to the several counties and the passage of the law, relating to them, it becomes necessary to follow the several bands and even the fortunes of individuals if possible. The material for doing this is scanty and some of the probable sources are as yet unexplored. Future investigation may recover some of the lacking details, but at present I can give only a few items.

Charles Carroll, the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, writing Jan. 9, 1759 to his son then abroad: "I was glad to serve Manjan, a poor Accadian here; what will become of him or the rest of them, God knows. The French seem to be so distressed everywhere, that upon a peace they cannot reasonably hope for relief from them; thus will they fall victims to our Cruelty, by which they have been

reduced from a state of Ease and Plenty to Misery, Poverty and Rags." 13 Aug., 1759, writing to his son, still abroad, of the surrender of Niagara and other successes of the English, he says: "While we are in the highest Transports of Joy, the poor Acadian prisoners among us are quite desponding and dejected; they are helpless, and people tired of supporting them so long by charity; for my part they have cost me as much or more than the 2,800 livres you are likely to be cheated of."

Griffith, who must himself have known some of the French Neutrals, in his Annals of Baltimore published in 1824, gives some interesting details of the people whom Andrew Styger brought from Philpot's Point to Baltimore Town. He says: "Some of them were received in private houses, others quartered in Mr. Fotterell's deserted house, in which they erected a temporary Chapel. For although the Province had been a refuge for persecuted Catholics in particular, they were surpassed in number by Protestants before any settlement was made in Baltimore County, and they had no place of worship in it as yet. At first assisted by public Levies authorized by law, these emigrants soon found means by their extraordinary industry and frugality, to get much of the ground on South Charles street, erecting many cabins or huts of mud and mortar, which part was long distinguished by the name of French-town. By the same means they or their children, converted their huts into good frame or brick buildings, mostly by their own hands, and there are yet (1824) some of the original French settlers living there at the age of eighty-five years and upwards. Among these French Neutrals Messrs. Guttro, Gould, Dashiel, Blanc (White) and Berbine who had suffered least perhaps, attached themselves mostly to navigation, and the infirm picked Oakum. Several houses erected on the West side of the street, from timber cut on the lots by themselves, and yet standing, were occupied by some of them more than sixty years."

Mr. Edward Fotterell's house in which the Acadians were sheltered is described as "the first brick house in Baltimore with free-stone corners, and the first which was two stories high, without a hip roof." It was located on part of the ground now occupied by the Court House. The Chapel established in this house is mentioned as the first Catholic Church in Baltimore.

Those who are acquainted with Mr. Moale's sketch of Baltimore in 1752 will have some idea of the town when the neutrals arrived in 1755.

Johnston's *History of Cecil County* contains some very interesting particulars. The following petition shows how desirous many of the Acadians were of reaching a country where they would be among people of their own race, language and religion.

"To the Worshipful, the Justices of the Peace of Cecil County:

"The humble Petition of the French Neutrals in Fredericktown (Cecil Co.) sheweth that, Whereas your Petitioners have now an opportunity of removing to the French Settlements on the River Mississippi, at their own expense and charge, which they, on account of their large number of small children and long captivity

here, find themselves entirely unable to pay. They therefore, Humbly request your worships to grant such timely assistance and Relief as may enable them to execute their purpose of removing and your petitioners shall ever pray.

"Issabel Brassey, 8 in family, Eneas Auber, alias Huber, 6 in do., Eneas Granger, 9 orphans, Joseph Auber. 24th Mar., 1767."

The following entry in the book which recorded vessels "cleared out" from Annapolis doubtless belongs to the above mentioned expedition." April, 1767, Schooner *Virgin*, Thomas Farrold, Master, square stern, 60 t. Six men, built in Maryland, 1762. Registered Pocomoke, 17 January, 1762. Owners of Present voyage, Peter Hulbert and Jonathan Plowman. 200 Passengers with their Baggage, Bound for Mississippi."

Joseph Barban, his wife and eight children, and the orphan children of John Baptist Granger ask assistance to emigrate to Canada.

"But little more is known of these unfortunate people except that they received the relief they sought and were sent to their friends in Louisiana and Canada at the public expense," concludes the author of the *History of Cecil County.*

Thos. Gage, Governor of New York, wrote July 21, 1765 to Governor Sharpe: "I am to thank you for your favour of the 28th June, and am now to acknowledge the honor of your Letter of the 20th of the same month, brought here by an Accadian. I find by him that his countrymen want a Settlement to be given them in Nova Scotia or Canada, either on the Bay of Gaspee, or Chalean, on account they say of the Fishery and that the Climate agrees with them. I don't know how far it would be agreeable to Government, to grant them settlements in these particular Provinces, but I think means may be fallen upon to render them, at least their Off-Spring, useful to us. I have advised the Bearer to return to you and tell his Countrymen to remain quiet in Maryland until they hear further from you. I shall in the meantime write to the Governor of Canada and Nova Scotia, and shall likewise transmit their Petition to me to His Majesty's secretary of State and whatever Intelligence I shall gain respecting his Majesty's Pleasure concerning these unhappy People you will be immediately acquainted with. I should think it would be greatly to the advantage of some of the great Landholders to give a Tract to these People on very moderate terms, in order to begin a settlement on some of their unsettled Lands."

In these efforts to reach their kindred doubtless some of the French Neutrals succeeded. It is equally sure that some remained in Maryland. To trace these genealogically would be an interesting piece of work.[1] Until this is done we cannot say how permanent in its effects upon Maryland was the Transportation of the Acadians in 1755.

1. The work of identifying Acadian names and descendents is complicated by the fact that many French came into Maryland from other places, the West Indies, France, etc., and is rendered still more difficult by the adoption of English equivalents for the original names. Thus "Le Blanc" became "White."

Comment

At the time of his death, Basil Sollers was Recording Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, and a committee, compiled of Richard D. Fisher, Richard H. Spencer, and Andrew C. Trippe was appointed to prepare a tribute to his memory. They reported that he had been a teacher, and had become Principal of Group B of the public schools of Baltimore, and that he had been a member of the Maryland Historical Society for twenty-seven years. He had accumulated a library of printed and manuscript material that enabled him to prepare several papers for reading before meetings of the Society. His work, they noted, combined "thorough . . . research with frank . . . expression." ("Proceedings of the Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 4 (1909): 332–33.

For this article, Sollers used issues of the *Maryland Gazette* to describe the fears of many Marylanders that the Indians and French would unite to attack the English. As those fears subsided, the *Gazette* reported on the removal of the French inhabitants from Canada, to be dispersed among other British colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

Sollers noted that it was not his intention to discuss, except briefly, "the reasons given for expelling the French Neutrals, nor [discuss]. . . at all the motives of those who determined upon the removal and carried it into execution." He did discuss the crowded, unhealthy conditions of the *Leopard* and the *Elizabeth,* and two other vessels that carried some 913 Acadians to Maryland. Marylanders inititally felt sorry for the refugees but soon began to complain of the "trouble and expense" of supporting and caring for them.

Sollers used the County Court Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly and correspondence of government leaders to illustrate the measures taken to alleviate the suffering of the new arrivals. He presented a balanced account, showing on the one hand the problems, including sickness and separation of families, of the refugees and on the other the steps taken by the people of Maryland to deal with a problem not of their making. Sollers then closed with the comment that to trace the families genealogically would be an "interesting piece of work." He probably would have been delighted to know that this is just what Gregory A. Wood did almost ninety years later in *A Guide to the Acadians in Maryland in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1995).

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Maryland and the Stamp Act Controversy

PAUL H. GIDDENS

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the half century of conflict between England and France for supremacy in North America. With the conclusion of peace, England was confronted with colonial problems of many different kinds and character. In America, old difficulties still existed and new ones had developed. The duty of governing the conquered inhabitants in Canada, Spanish Florida, and a part of French Louisiana was a most delicate task. Differences in race, religion, and law increased its complexity. More important and interesting was the management of the vast western domain lying between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. In this region the rights to be considered were multifarious and jarring; Indians, fur traders, pioneer settlers, and land speculators made a solution extremely difficult. Especially pressing was the Indian problem, brought to an issue by the conspiracy of Pontiac.

Numerous causes were responsible for this famous insurrection.[1] Western savages hated the new masters because they had fought and killed their kinsmen. Furthermore, presents were either withheld altogether or niggardly doled out by the English, which was in sharp contrast to the French policy, and the sudden withholding of guns, ammunition, clothing, and other supplies was keenly resented by the Indians. Want, suffering, and death were the consequences. Then, too, English traders of the coarsest kind vied with one another in rapacity, violence, and profligacy; they cursed, cheated, plundered, and outraged Indian families. Moreover, the warriors were no longer welcome at the forts once held by the French; English officers and men received them with cold looks, harsh words, oaths, and threats. Finally, the intrusion of white settlers into the red man's ancient domain was another real source of Indian hostility. To encourage the spirit of discontent, French traders went among the Indians, held council meetings, liberally distributed arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, and urged them to take up arms against the English. In Pontiac, the influential Ottawa chieftain, the Indians found an able leader by whose efforts a mighty conspiracy was organized.

1. Francis Parkman, *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac and the War of the North American Tribes Against the English Colonies After the Conquest of Canada,* Boston, 1855, pp. 151–168.

This article first appeared in volume 27 (1932). Paul H. Giddens (1903–1984) became a respected authority on the history of the oil industry and published The Birth of the Oil Industry *in 1938. Legendary muckraker Ida. M. Tarbell wrote the Introduction.*

Under his direction the allied tribes rose up as one man in May, 1763, besieged English forts in the West, massacred the garrisons, and started a reign of terror along the thinly settled frontier regions.

Ever since the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Maryland frontiersmen had lived a quiet, peaceful life and by 1759, the westernmost part was as well settled as before the French and Indian War began.[2] But the Indian uprising of 1763 terrified many of the inhabitants and forced them to take refuge in the nearest forts. "Every Day, for some Time past," ran a news-item from Frederick in *The Maryland Gazette* for July 28, 1763, "has offered the melancholy Scene of poor distressed families driving downwards through this Town, with their Effects, who have deserted their Plantations, for Fear of falling into the Cruel Hands of our Savage Enemies, now daily seen in the Woods. And never was Panic more general or forcible than that of the Back Inhabitants, whose Terrors, at this Time exceed what followed on the Defeat of General Braddock, when the frontiers lay open to the Incursions of both French and Indians." The season had been remarkably fine and the harvest afforded the most promising appearance of plenty and goodness that had been known for many years, but it was now ruined by the enemy invaders.

Colonel Thomas Cresap of Old Town wrote Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland in July as follows: "I have enclosed a list of the desolate men and women and children who have fled to my house, which is enclosed by a small stockade for safety, by which you see what number of poor souls, destitute of every necessary of life, are here penned up, and likely to be butchered without immediate relief and assistance, and can expect none, unless from the province to which they belong."[3] Sharpe at once dispatched several parties of militiamen to the frontier for patrol duty.[4] Two barrels of powder and fifty stands of arms were sent to Fort Frederick where most of the people beyond that post had retired for shelter. But after July, no more hostile Indians were seen in the colony and peace reigned on the Maryland frontier. Although it came too late, the proprietor "of his own peculiar Gratuity "sent £200 sterling in gunpowder and ball to help repel the invaders.[5]

Pontiac's conspiracy was quickly crushed but it demonstrated the need of a more unified and effective control of Indian affairs. It also served to re-enforce the conviction already reached by the British government during the French and Indian War that the American colonies could not be trusted to provide adequately for their own defense. And it was necessary to protect the colonies as well as the newly acquired regions from the intrigues of the French, Spanish, and Indians.

2. Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*, (*Archives of Maryland*), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. II, pp. 326, 388, 361–362. Hereinafter referred to as *Sharpe Cor.*

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 104.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 105, 114.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 168, 182.

Both the safety of the colonies and the Empire demanded the permanent establishment of a strong force in America. British financial resources, however, had already been severely strained to save the colonies from foreign foes and Englishmen felt the colonies should help contribute towards that end.[6] The requisition system had proved absolutely unworkable during the late war and the only other recourse was parliamentary taxation; the latter method had been repeatedly advocated by Shirley, Sharpe, Dinwiddie, Braddock, and Loudoun.[7] The British government decided, therefore, in 1763 to keep a standing army of 10,000 men in America and tax the colonies for their support in part.

The Sugar Act of 1764 was passed by Parliament for the express purpose of raising revenue to defend, protect, and secure the British colonies in North American.[8] Instead of the old molasses duty of 6d. per gallon, which, if enforced, would have prohibited the trade and yielded no revenue, a lower duty of 3d. per gallon was levied. Duties were levied not only upon molasses and sugar from foreign ports but also upon coffee, wines, East India goods, and other foreign commodities. The revenue from the Sugar Act, however, covered only about one-seventh of the cost of maintaining the army in America and was considerably less than what was deemed the just proportion of the colonies. Other American sources of revenue were sought and in 1765, Grenville introduced the famous Stamp Act which became a law on March 22, with scarcely any opposition.

Upon the passage of the Stamp Act the brewing storm of discontent broke in America and violent methods were used to resist this innovation in British colonial policy. On April 18, 1765, there appeared in *The Maryland Gazette* the following death-like announcement: "This Gazette, No. 1041, Begins the Twenty-first Year of Its Publication: But alas! must soon Droop and Expire, at least for some time, if the melancholy and alarming Accounts, we have just heard from the Northward, prove True, That an Act of Parliament is shortly to take Place laying a heavy and insupportable STAMP DUTY on all American Gazettes." Unless a sufficient number of subscriptions could be secured at an "unavoidable advanced price," the editor informed his readers that he must cease publication. When further reports confirmed the passage of the Stamp Act the people of Maryland were "much disgusted," especially since a "Notion had been entertained by many that Maryland was by its Charter particularly exempted from all Impositions except what should be laid by the Assembly . . ."[10] "We are a good deal allarm'd at the stamp-Act,"

6. George Louis Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1751–1765,* New York, 1907, pp. 265–273.
7. Winfred Trexeler Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania With the British Government, 1696–1765,* New York, 1912, p. 329.
8. Beer, *op. cit.,* pp. 274–284.
9. *Ibid.,* pp. 285–288.
10. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 210.

Benedict Calvert reported. "& I can't imagine where the different provinces will find the money to pay the Duty; I am Certain we have not enough in Maryland to pay one year's Tax."[11] Lawyers without exception were "most violent" in their denunciations of the Act. Governor Sharpe felt, however, "their Warmth" would soon abate and that there would be no opposition to the execution of the Stamp Act.[12] But heated debates and discussions continued throughout the summer.

In August, it was learned that Zachariah Hood, an Annapolis merchant, had been named stamp distributor for Maryland.[13] Hood had gone to England to secure supplies for his store and while there, he received the appointment. It was a complete surprise to Marylanders, who could not understand through whose influence he had secured the office.[14] Hood told Sharpe, however, that Secretary Calvert had assisted him in obtaining the position.[15] An anonymous London writer said it was due to Hood's many eminent services to the king and country during the last war. Commenting upon the appointment, the London gentleman wrote to an Annapolis friend as follows: "It gives too many here Pleasure to find, that, let them make what Laws they please, to cramp your Trade, and destroy your Freedom, there are not wanting Sycophants enough in your own Country to sue for Commissions to put those very Laws in Execution among their nearest Relations and Friends. *Oh! Degeneracy of ancient Britons! America! how thou art fallen! When even thy own Offspring who have been nurtured with all the Tenderness of maternal Affection, are base enough to sollicit thy Oppressors to make them the Instruments of thy Destruction.* From the Conduct of your Americans now in *England,* we doubt not but Mr. H—d will be highly applauded among you by all those Patriots who set out with the Old Man's Maxim, Get Place and Wealth, if possible, with Grace, If not, by any Means get Wealth and Place."[16]

When Hood returned to Maryland in August, 1765, people assembled in all parts of the province to express their indignation and contempt.[17] "Our stampmaster, Zachariah Hood," Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Edmund Jennings in September, 1765, "is hated and despised by everyone; he has been whipped, pilloried and hanged in effigy, in this place, Baltimore town, at the landing; the people seem determined not to buy his goods."[18] Actuated by the same riotous

11. *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication, Vol. XXXIV, Maryland Historical Society), Baltimore, 1894, p. 261.
12. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 210.
13. *Ibid.,* p. 220.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 220.
15. *Ibid.,* p. 220.
16. *The Maryland Gazette,* August 22, 1765.
17. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 225; George T. Hollyday, "Biographical Memoir of James Hollyday," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. VII, p. 428.
18. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton,* New York, 1898, Vol. I, p. 73.

spirit as those in Boston, New York, and other places, the Marylanders either burned or hanged Hood in effigy in a dozen different places.[19] At Annapolis they prepared a figure representing Hood, placed him in a horse-cart, and while a bell tolled a solemn knell, the figure was paraded through the streets till noon. He was then killed, placed in a pillory, and finally hung to a gibbet erected for that purpose. A barrel of tar was lighted underneath the effigy and it was burned down. Exhibitions of this sort were very common. A week later a mob of three or four hundred assembled at night in Annapolis and wrecked the store Hood was repairing for the reception of his imported merchandise.[20] So bitter was the sentiment against Hood that no one dared oppose the mob or even signify his disapproval and no one would accuse another individual of being a party to the destruction. If any person had been committed to jail for participating in the riot, he would probably have been rescued immediately by the mob. Governor Sharpe believed that if Hood had been "a Person of any Note in the Province or connected with people of any Consequence," he might not have been treated with such great indignity.[21]

Terrified and fearful for his life, Hood sent a letter the next day after his store was destroyed to Sharpe asking protection and seeking advice as to whether or not he should resign. Although the governor was reluctant to advise his resignation, he offered Hood the protection of his home.[22] Popular feeling ran so high, however, that friends and relatives urged Hood to leave for New York, which he did. If Hood had attempted to perform his duties, Sharpe was certain that he could not have been successful. "I assure your Ldp," the Maryland governor wrote Lord Baltimore, "that when the People are so unanimous in opposing the execution of a Law as they are on this Occasion nothing but a Military Force can procure obedience to it."[23] Even though driven out of the colony, his fortune gone, and his business ruined, Hood assured the Commissioner of Stamps that he would discharge his duty whenever it was within his power. But the Sons of Liberty of New York, feeling that their province should not harbor a stamp distributor from a neighboring colony, threatened him with violence unless he resigned.[24] Hood yielded on November 28, 1765, but did not return to Maryland until some months later.

Those who had any possible connection with Hood in Maryland were quick to disclaim it. Alexander Laing of Vienna inserted the following notice in *The*

19. *The Maryland Gazette,* August 29, 1785, September 5, 1785; *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 223.
20. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 225.
21. Sharpe to William Sharpe, October, 1785. An original letter in the Library of Congress.
22. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, pp. 221, 222–223, 225–226.
23. *Ibid.,* pp. 257, 262, 266.
24. *The Maryland Gazette,* January 30, 1766; "Resistance to the Stamp Act," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. IV, p. 135.

Maryland Gazette for September 19,1765: "These are to certify to the Public in general, That whoever says that I am appointed Deputy Stamp Master for Dorchester Somerset and Worcester Counties, is a Lyar; and I declare that I will not accept an Office so Detestable and Injurious to the Country."[25] On September 26, 1765, Thomas Hyde informed the public that "Whereas it hath been Reported, That the Subscriber is in Partnership with Mr. Zachariah Hood, and that my Son was sent for from Philadelphia to keep his Store, and assist him in his Office: This is to inform the Public That this Report is without Foundation, and that I never had any such Thought, nor have I any connexion in Business with Mr. Hood of any Kind, and that the whole Reason of my Son's coming to Maryland was to see me, there being a Vacation in the College, where he lives, to give the Youth an Opportunity to visit their Friends."[26]

With Hood out of the way, all the practicing lawyers of the provincial court and many other gentlemen petitioned Governor Sharpe to summon the assembly immediately despite the smallpox epidemic.[27] The Massachusetts Circular Letter had arrived in Maryland and it seemed to be the universal desire of the people that representatives should be sent to the New York meeting. Since there was great reason to believe that the Maryland assembly would meet anyway, the council advised the governor to summon the members. It is interesting to note the instructions prepared by the freemen of Anne Arundel county for their delegation. The delegates were to assert clearly the right of the colonists under the Magna Carta and the Maryland charter and to assist in sending a delegation to New York. On the question of assenting to the Stamp Act, the freemen inquired, "How then in Point of NATURAL or CIVIL LAW, are we rightly chargeable, or liable to be burdened, by the Stamp Act, attempted to be imposed upon us by the Mother-country? Have we assented to it personally or representatively? If we have not, which is notorious to the World, the MINISTER's virtual Representation, adduced argumentatively, in support of the Tax on us, is fantastical and frivolous."[28]

When the Maryland assembly met on September 23, there was almost a full attendance. After remonstrating with the Governor for not having summoned them sooner, the delegates began a discussion of the Massachusetts Circular Letter. Three members, Edward Tilghman, William Murdock, and Thomas Ringgold, were appointed to represent the colony at the Stamp Act Congress and the assembly appropriated £500 for their expenses.[29] A committee composed of James

25. *The Maryland Gazette,* September 19, 1765.
26. *Ibid.,* September 28, 1785.
27. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, pp. 212, 230–231.
28. *The Maryland Gazette,* October 24, 1765.
29. *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly of the Province Maryland,* September, 1765, pp. 4–17. Hereinafter referred to as *Votes and Pro. L. H.*

Hollyday, Thomas Johnson, Edmund Key, John Goldsborough, John Hammond, Daniel Wolstenholme, and John Hanson, Jr., drafted instructions for the representatives, which empowered them to join with the other colonies in a "General, and United, Dutiful, Loyal, and Humble Representation" to his Majesty and Parliament concerning the circumstances of the colonies and pray for relief from the restraints on trade, the Stamp Act, and the restoration of trial by jury. "That they take Care that such Representation shall," ran the instructions, "humbly and decently, but expressly contain, an Assertion of the Rights of the Colonists, to be exempt from all and every Taxation and Impositions upon their Persons and Properties, to which they do not Consent in a Legislative Way, either by themselves, or their Representatives, by them freely chosen and appointed."[30] Resolutions declarative of the "Constitutional Rights and Privileges of the Freemen of the Province," formed by William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, Thomas Ringgold, Samuel Chase, Samuel Wilson, Daniel Wolstenholme, John Goldsborough, John Hammond, Henry Hollyday, Charles Grahame, Edmund Key, B. T. B. Worthington, Thomas Johnson, and James Hollyday, were then adopted. These resolutions ran as follows:[31]

> "I. Resolved Unanimously, That the first Adventurers and Settlers of this Province of Maryland, brought with them, and transmitted to their Posterity, and all other of his Majesty's Subjects, since inhabiting in this Province, all the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, that at any Time have been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the People of *Great Britain.*
>
> II. Resolved Unanimously, That it was granted by *Magna Carta,* and other good Laws and Statutes of England, and confirmed by the Petition and Bill of Rights, that the Subject should not be compelled to contribute to any Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge, not set by common Consent of Parliament.
>
> III. Resolved Unanimously, That by a Royal Charter, granted by his Majesty King Charles the First, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred and Thirty-two, to Caecilius, then Lord Baltimore, it was for the Encouragement of People to transport themselves and Families into this Province, amongst other Things, covenanted and granted, by his said Majesty, for Himself, and his Heirs, and Successors, as followeth:
>
> We will also, and of our more abundant grace, for us, our heirs, and successors, do firmly charge, constitute, ordain, and command, that the said

30. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
31. *Ibid.,* pp. 9–10.

province be of our allegiance; and that all and singular the subjects and liege-men of us, our heirs and successors, transplanted, or hereafter to be transplanted into the province aforesaid, and the children of them, and of others their descendants, whether already born there, or hereafter to be born, be and shall be natives and liege-men of us, our heirs and successors, of our kingdom of England and Ireland; and in all things shall be held, treated, reputed, and esteemed as the faithful liege-men of us, and our heirs and successors, born within our kingdom of England; also lands, tenements, revenues, services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, within our kingdom of England, and other of our dominions, to inherit, or otherwise purchase, receive, take, have, hold, buy, and possess, and the same to use, and enjoy, and the same, to give, sell, alienate and bequeath; and likewise all privileges, franchises and liberties of this our kingdom of England, freely, quietly, and peaceably to have and possess, and the name may use and enjoy in the same manner as our liege-men born, or to be born within our said kingdom of England, without impediment, molestation, vexation, impeachment, or grievance of us, or any of our heirs or successors; any statute, act, ordinance, or provision to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding.

And further We will, and do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant and grant to, and with the aforesaid now baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, that We, our heirs and successors, at no time hereafter, will impose, or make or cause to be imposed, any impositions, customs, or other taxations, quotas or contributions whatsoever, in or upon the residents or inhabitants of the province aforesaid for their goods, lands, or tenements within the same province, or upon any tenements, lands, goods or chattels within the province aforesaid, or in or upon any goods or merchandises within the province aforesaid, or within the ports or harbors of the said province, to be laden or unladen: And We will and do, for us, our heirs and successors, enjoin and command that this our declaration shall, from time to time, be received and allowed in all our courts and pretorian judicatories, and before all the judges whatsoever of us, our heirs and successors, for a sufficient and lawful discharge, payment, and acquaintance thereof, charging all and singular the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, and enjoining them, under our heavy displeasure, that they do not at any time presume to attempt any thing to be contrary of the premises, or that may in any wise contravene the same, but that they, at all times, as is fitting, do aid and assist the aforesaid inhabitants and merchants of the province of Maryland aforesaid, and their servants and ministers, factors and assigns, in the fullest use and enjoyment of this our charter.

IV. Resolved, That it is the Unanimous Opinion of this House, That the said

Charter is Declaratory of the Constitutional Rights and Privileges of the Freemen of this Province.

V. Resolved Unanimously, That Trials By Juries, is the grand Bulwark of Liberty, the undoubted Birthright of every Englishman, and consequently of every British Subject in America; And that the Erecting other Jurisdictions for the Trial of Matters of Fact, is Unconstitutional, and renders the Subject insecure in his Liberty and Property.

VI. Resolved, That it is the Unanimous Opinion of this House, that it cannot, with any Truth, or Propriety, be said, That the Freemen of this Province of Maryland are Represented in the British Parliament.

VII. Resolved Unanimously, That his Majesty's liege People of this ancient Province, have always enjoyed the Right of being Governed by Laws, to which they themselves have consented, in the Articles of Taxes, and internal Polity; and that the same hath never been forfeited, or in any other way yielded up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and People of Great Britain.

VIII. Resolved Unanimously, That it is the Unanimous Opinion of this House, That the Representatives of the Freemen of this Province, in their Legislative Capacity, together with the other Part of the Legislature, have the sole Right to lay Taxes and Impositions on the Inhabitants of this Province, or their Property and Effects; And that the Laying, Imposing, Levying, or Collecting, any Tax on, or from the Inhabitants of Maryland under Colour of any other Authority, is Unconstitutional, and a direct Violation of the Rights of the Freemen of this Province."

Before the assembly took a recess, Sharpe inquired what he should do in case the stamped paper arrived. Hood had left the colony, there was no one to receive it, and if landed, the chief executive was afraid the paper would be burned.[32] But the lower house refused to suggest any solution.

Two days after the mob destroyed Hood's store and while the people were still in an angry mood, a tender belonging to his Majesty's sloop, the *Hornet,* came to Annapolis.[33] Scarcely had the boat dropped anchor before a number of townsmen went aboard to find out whether or not it carried any stamped paper. Officer Mewbray would neither answer the query nor make known his business. In the evening Mewbray and two of his passengers went to the city tavern for supper. Shortly, one of the townsmen who had gone aboard the tender came into the

32. *Ibid.,* pp. 2, 11, 12.
33. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 226.

tavern and fastened to his hat was a paper on which appeared the words "No Stamp Act." Mewbray, considering it an affront, put the man out of the room and called four of his crew to prevent his return. This led to a dispute between one of Mewbray's passengers, "who was in liquor," and John Hammond, one of the leading liberals in the Maryland assembly. To determine the controversy, the disputants agreed to a boxing match in which Hammond was worsted. During the fight, some ill-designing persons went about the city crying that the officer was murdering Hammond. A mob gathered, fell upon the officer, and wounded him, while one passenger was forced to swim aboard the tender in order to save his life. This affair, the treatment of Hood, and the refusal of the lower house to give its consent to landing the stamped paper led the Maryland council to recommend that, in case the stamped paper arrived, it should be kept on board one of his Majesty's warships.

After the Maryland assembly had adjourned and while the Stamp Act Congress was in session, there came from the printing office in Annapolis on October 14, 1765, an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Considerations On The Propriety Of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies."[34] Avoiding generalities, the author narrowed his argument to the exact power of the act—the power to impose internal taxes on the colonies without their consent for the single purpose of revenue. He argued the question like a statesman discussing the principles of the British Constitution. In a clear, simple, and forcible manner he contended that the colonists were not represented in Parliament and could not effectually be represented; that taxation without representation was a violation of the common law of England; and that in no previous exercise of parliamentary power over the colonies was revenue the sole purpose. On the other hand, he admitted that the colonies were subordinate to Parliament, and that Parliament had an unquestioned right to regulate colonial trade and if the regulations produced an incidental revenue, it was nevertheless legal. The literary power, the legal learning, the moderation of tone, the appeal to reason rather than feeling, and the fearless argument attracted immediate attention. Men in the colony capable of handling the problem in such a forceful way were few and before long, it was everywhere known as the work of Daniel Dulany. Of the pamphlet, Charles Carroll of Carrollton said, "It is wrote with that strength and solidity of arguments as must convince the understanding of the unprejudiced; and with that elegance and beauty of style as cannot fail

34. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from, the Earliest Period to the Present Day,* Baltimore, 1879, Vol. I, p. 546; John H. B. Latrobe, "Biographical Sketch of Daniel Dulany," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. III, p. 4; *The Maryland Gazette,* October 31, 1765; Daniel Dulany, "Daniel Dulany's Considerations," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. VI, pp. 374–375, 376–406, also Vol. VII, pp. 26–59; Richard Henry Spencer, "Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1722–1797," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XIII, p. 146.

pleasing good judges and men of taste."[35] It became at once one of the best defenses of colonial rights and had a direct influence on the form in which Pitt, speaking for the repeal of the Stamp Act, expressed his views.

As the day approached when the Stamp Act should go into effect, it was anticipated that no business would be transacted in Maryland. Charles Carroll of Carrollton said the people were "so enraged that they will, 'tis thought, proceed to the greatest lengths, even to ye burning of the stamps; should the stamps be burnt all law proceedings and indeed every other business will be at a stand . . ."[36] On the front page of *The Maryland Gazette* for October 10, there appeared in large letters across the top the word "EXPIRING." The paper might have been published three weeks longer, but this issue completed the subscription year and it ceased publication at this time. Another indication that business would stop and the stamp tax not paid is found in the following notice of Benjamin Welsh, which appeared in *The Maryland Gazette* for September 5, 1765. "I am informed," ran the notice, "that the STAMP LAW takes place the first Day of November next; I therefore hereby give Notice to all officers whatever, that may be appointed by Virtue of that most grievious and unconstitutional Act (to prevent them Trouble) That I will Pay no tax whatever but what is laid upon me by my Representatives." Significant is the fact that even before November 1, 1765, a large number of people, out of resentment to the mother country, were actually preparing and some had already begun to manufacture their own clothes.[37] "A great many gentlemen," declared Charles Carroll of Carrollton in September, 1765, "have already appeared in homespun, and I hope soon to make one of the number."[38] Within a short time it became very fashionable for gentlemen of quality and fortune to appear clad in home-made clothes.[39] Governor Sharpe believed that the people would go on manufacturing and boycotting British goods even though the Stamp Act might be immediately repealed.

All the public offices, custom houses, and nearly all the courts closed on November 1, 1765.[40] Business was at a standstill for the lack of stamps. In Frederick county, however, the court never closed. The magistrates, considering the bad consequences which might result from closing, resolved in a very full session that all business should be transacted in the usual manner without stamps.[41] On account of his refusal to comply with the order, the clerk was committed to prison

35. Thomas Meagher Field, editor, *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. and of His Father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan,* New York, 1902, p. 95.
36. *Ibid.,* p. 95.
37. Sharpe to William Sharpe, October, 1765. An original letter in the Library of Congress.
38. Rowland, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 75.
39. *The Maryland Gazette,* March 27, 1766.
40. *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, pp. 240, 260.
41. *The Maryland Gazette,* December 10, 1765; *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, pp. 253–254.

for contempt, but soon repented, agreed to follow court directions, and was released. To celebrate the court's independence, the Sons of Liberty assembled at the home of Samuel Swearingen and formed an elaborate parade.[42] Accompanied by drums and banners, a coffin, bearing the inscription on the lid "The Stamp Act, Expired of A Mortal STAB Received from the Genius of Liberty In Frederick County Court, 23d November 1765 Aged 22 Days" and with the words "tyranny," "villenage," "Fines," "Imprisonment," and "military executions" written on the sides, was carried through the principal streets of Frederick. Behind the casket, riding in an open chariot, was an effigy of Zachariah Hood with a pale and dejected countenance. With bells ringing, the procession moved to the gallows on the courthouse green where the funeral oration was delivered. Then with loud huzzas and a roll of drums both the corpse of the Stamp Act and the effigy of Hood was placed in a grave and buried. The crowd thereupon returned to Swearingen's home to participate in an elegant supper and ball. Of the action of the Frederick county court, Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote, "This conduct, in my apprehension, is but rational and a necessary consequence, if the people would act consequentially, of what they have already done: since a suspense from business implies a tacit acquaintance of the Law, is at least ye right or of ye power of imposing such Laws upon us: the right we deny upon ye soundest of reasoning, and the power we should oppose by All lawful means."[43]

By February, 1766, an association known as the Sons of Liberty had been formed in Baltimore. A short time later, another association was formed in Annapolis under the leadership of Samuel Chase and William Paca. The Baltimore group immediately resolved that public officials should open their offices and transact business without using stamps.[44] This resolution was conveyed to Annapolis and read before a public assemblage on the hill. Speaking of this meeting, Charles Carroll of Carrollton said, "The subscribers were men of little note; some expressions were very unguarded, to say no more. The scheme of opening ye offices seemed to ye most thinking men of ye town, improper at that juncture. We had felt ye inconvenience from a suspension of public business, and knew them, however grievious, not insupportable. It was but waiting a few weeks longer, when we had reason to expect very favourable accounts from England; it was time to act desperately, when our affairs were desperate; should force be used to carry ye act into execution, there was little prospect of its being opposed with any success: these reasons urged by ye principal gentlemen of ye town had the desired effect. Nothing was concluded. . . ."[45] Two days later the Sons of Liberty came to Annapo-

42. *The Maryland Gazette,* December 10, 1785.
43. Field, *op. cit.,* p. 104.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 112; *The Maryland Gazette,* March 6, 1766.
45. Field, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

lis and, after some discussion, asked the public officials to open their offices on or before March 31. The Sons of Liberty then adjourned to meet again on March 31. On that day, they renewed their application to the provincial court. The judges at first refused to heed the request but finally weakened and agreed to transact business without using the stamps. Similar applications to other public officers brought the desired results.[46] By April 3, the courts in Anne Arundel, Cecil, Queen Anne, Somerset, and Worcester counties were transacting business in violation of the law. It was confidently expected that other county courts would soon follow their example.

For his part in the movement to force the stamp distributor to resign and to open the public offices, the opponents of Samuel Chase called him "a busy body, a restless incendiary, a ringleader of mobs, a foul mouthed and inflaming son of discord and faction, a promoter of the lawless excesses of the multitude."[47] Chase replied to them in the following manner: "Was it a mob who destroyed, in effigy, our stamp distributor? Was it a mob who assembled here from the different counties, and indignantly opened the public offices? Whatever vanity may whisper in your ears, or that pride and arrogance may suggest, which are natural to despicable tools of power, emerged from obscurity and basking in proprietary sunshine you must confess them to be your superiors, men of reputation and merit, who are mentioned with respect, while you are named with contempt, pointed out and hissed at, as *fruges consumere nati.*

"I admit that I was one of those who committed to the flames in effigy the stamp distributor of this province, and who openly disputed the parliamentary right to tax the colonies, while you skulked in your houses, some of you asserting the parliamentary right and esteeming the Stamp Act as a beneficial law. Others of you meanly grumbled in your corners, not daring to speak of your sentiments."[48]

Ten days after the Sons of Liberty forced the provincial court to transact business, news of the repeal of the Stamp Act arrived in Maryland. It was a joyous occasion and caused public celebrations in almost every town.[49] In Annapolis the day was spent in "mirth" and in drinking loyal and patriotic toasts. At Joppa the news was proclaimed by the ringing of bells, the illumination of every house in town, and every other "decent signal of joy." A subscription was opened in Chester

46. *The Maryland Gazette,* March 6, 1766; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and Baltimore County,* Philadelphia, 1881, pp. 66–67; *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXII, pp. 121–123; *The Maryland Gazette,* April 3, 1766; *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, pp. 303–304.

47. Walter B. Norris, Annapolis, *Its Colonial and Naval Story,* New York, 1925, p. 120.

48. John Martin Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware,* Philadelphia, 1914, p. 22; Rowland, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 73.

49. Scharf, *Hist. of Md.,* Vol. I, p. 552; *The Maryland Gazette,* April 10, 1765, May 29, 1766, June 12, 1766; *Sharpe Cor.,* Vol. III, p. 313.

Town for erecting a monument at Annapolis in honor of Pitt. Emblems of Discord were buried at Queens Town and a pillar was erected to Concord. When the Maryland assembly adjourned in May, the members met in the council house where they drank "patriotic" toasts while the guns at the dock boomed a salute. "Tranquillity & good Order is now perfectly restored here & the late Distractions will I hope soon be forgotten," declared the Governor in June, 1766.[50] Hood had even ventured back to Annapolis and was once more engaged in business. In December, 1766, Sharpe wrote to Lord Shelburne as follows: "I must also in Justice to the Inhabitants of this Province in general assure your Ldp that since the Repeal of the Stamp Act was notified to them they have not shewn the least Signs of Discontent nor have Murmurings been heard among them, but as far as I can judge their Behavior has manifested the Highest Satisfaction at the late Measures of the British Legislature & while their Declarations have been expressive of unfeigned Loyalty & Gratitude to our most Gracious Sovereign & of the greatest Attachment to the Mother Country."[51]

Animated by a spirit of gratitude, the Maryland lower house voted in November, 1766, to purchase an elegant marble statue of Pitt to be set up in Annapolis and to have the picture of Lord Camden painted and hung in the provincial court room.[52] The project was blocked, however, by the refusal of the upper house to pass the bill, for the lower house expressly excluded them from any share in appropriating the money. Nevertheless, as Charles Carroll of Carrollton said of Pitt, "His memory will ever be revered by ye North Americans, at least, who owe to his eloquence and protection ye enjoyment of whatever is most sacred and dear to them."[53] The lower house also took into consideration the patriotic conduct of other Englishmen, who had denied Parliament's right to tax the colonies, and expressed their appreciation to Charles Garth, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Shelburne, Secretary Conway, General Howard, Colonel Barre, Sir George Saville, and Alderman Beckford. Both houses sent separate messages to the king expressing grateful thanks for his assent to the repeal of the Stamp Act. Finally, the Maryland assembly appropriated £100 to Hood, a full equivalent for the damage done to the house which Hood had fixed up for a store only to be pulled down by the mob.[54] Although Hood had returned to Annapolis and had resumed his mercantile business, he found the inhabitants so resentful toward him that the place was most unpleasant. He soon left Maryland for the West Indies and, except for a

50. *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 315.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 359.
52. *Votes and Pro. L. H.*, November, 1766, p. 136; *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 355; *The Maryland Gazette*, May 21, 1767.
53. Field, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
54. *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. III, p. 358.

memorial to Parliament for relief, no more is heard of the unfortunate stamp distributor.[55]

The repeal of the Stamp Act seemed to restore harmonious relations between England and her American colonies, but it did not settle the issue of taxation without representation. On the question of the stamp tax, however, the colonies had won a real victory. The imperial government had been successfully defied, the Stamp Act nullified, and the whole controversy brought the authority of Parliament into dispute. In general, the colonists claimed that it was a fundamental principle of the British constitution that a subject could not be taxed except by his own consent or through his representatives. As the colonies were not and could not be represented in Parliament, no taxes could be levied upon them except by their own colonial legislatures. According to the British point of view, the colonies were virtually represented in Parliament, and it "had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." The inability to reconcile these two divergent views continued to embarrass peaceful relations and ultimately led to the American Revolution.

Comment

The Stamp Act crisis in 1764–1766 was a major event in the history of the early modern British Empire and Paul H. Giddens' early article, now almost seventy-five years old, provides a clear narrative of the ways Maryland responded to it. For the time it was written, this article represents an impressive piece of scholarship, making use of a wide assortment of research materials including official and personal correspondence, pamphlets, and newspaper essays and reports. In bringing out the fervor of the resistance to the Stamp Act and tracing that resistance through the period until the Stamp Act's repeal in 1766, Giddens provided an account that stands up very well today. Over the years since its publication, however, scholars have learned much about the broader imperial context of the Stamp Act crisis, and this comment will endeavor to set out in brief compass some of the central findings of these scholars and how those findings have changed the ways we understand this crisis.

One of the most important facts we have learned about the early modern British Empire is that it was not an all-powerful polity with authority concentrated at the center. Rather, during the century and a half before the Stamp Act crisis, Britain's American colonies had been governed in a kind of loose federation in which the metropolitan government in London exercised jurisdiction over

55. Memorial to the Right Honorable Lords of the Treasury from Hood, 1771. *Stamp Act Papers,* No. 11, pp. 42–44. Maryland Historical Society Library.

matters of general concern such as trade and defense, while the provincial government in each colony had authority over its internal affairs. At the time of the crisis, the number of British colonies on the mainland of North America and adjacent islands numbered twenty-nine. All but one, the recently conquered French colony of Quebec, had or soon would have its own elective parliament or assembly. Each assembly had exclusive control over taxation and legislation for the internal polity over which it presided, albeit in most of the colonies (Maryland and two corporate charter colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, being the only exceptions) legislation was subject to review and disallowance by the Crown in Britain, for most of the colonial era an uncommon and notoriously inefficient process. Indeed, many contemporary British commentators, including the economist Adam Smith, attributed the rapid growth of British colonies to their wide scope for self-government and celebrated the British Empire for its extraordinarily liberal, consensual mode of governance.

In the American colonies, the expanding free European population had always regarded this mode of governance as the single most important element in their British birthright. Just as the people of independent status in the home islands were subject to no laws without their own consent through their representatives and actively made law when they served on juries, so also did the free people in America see the institutions of parliaments and juries which guaranteed their rights to consensual governance as essential components of their identities as Britons residing outside Britain. Indeed, their long-term enjoyment of those rights was a major element in the deep pride they felt at being a part of the British Empire, a pride that was never greater than it was following Britain's stunning triumph over France in the Seven Years' War, which concluded just two years before passage of the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act threatened the very foundations of this ancient constitutional system. Accustomed to negotiating with the Crown over their internal affairs, the colonies suddenly found themselves confronted by an aggressive British Parliament in which they had no representatives and which was taking the unprecedented action of levying taxes upon them, for purposes not for trade regulation but for raising a revenue to cover imperial expenses. Even more important, by subjecting colonists to taxes to which they had not consented, the Stamp Act struck directly at their identities as free-born British subjects. If, because they resided in America, they were not free from taxes and other legislation concerning their internal affairs, they reasoned, then they were not the free British people they had always claimed to be. Indeed, they repeatedly said, they were in the same condition as their African slaves, devoid of legal and constitutional rights. The depth of their resentment was manifest in massive resistance which prevented the enforcement of the act in most of the colonies.

Although the colonials' positive response to Parliament's repeal of the Stamp

Act in 1766 revealed that the crisis had not emptied the vast reservoir of British nationalism in America, the Stamp Act crisis did change the nature of the relationship between Britain and the colonies. On the one side, Parliament may not previously have tried to tax or to legislate for the internal affairs of the colonies, but within Britain itself, during the decades after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, it had acquired a degree of authority that made it think of itself as supreme over all the affairs of the empire. The direct and emphatic colonial challenge to its authority over the internal affairs of the colonies created widespread suspicions within Britain that these increasingly valuable colonies might try to set up for themselves as independent states. Hence, Parliament accompanied the repeal of the Stamp Act by asserting its jurisdiction over the colonies in all cases whatsoever. On the other side, Parliament's passage of the Stamp Act had raised fear within the colonies that Britain's political establishment was bent on altering the long-standing constitutional relationship between Britain and the colonies in a way that would deprive them of their inherited rights to consensual governance and reduce them to second-class citizenship within the larger British world. By raising these mutual suspicions on both sides of the Atlantic world, the Stamp Act crisis effectively turned a functional empire into a dysfunctional one, from which thirteen of the colonies would secede a mere ten years later.

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The Revolutionary Impulse In Maryland

CHARLES A. BARKER

Some ten years ago, when the present writer was beginning a study of revolutionary origins in Maryland, he planned a book in terms of the scholarship of the American Revolution. He thought then as he does now that the significance and meaning of the Revolution is to be understood only in detailed and inclusive terms—agriculture and trade as well as taxation, habits of thought as well as political argument. Maryland offered an unstudied case history. The core of the problem was to investigate the conditions and movements of Maryland history in the eighteenth century, and to establish their dynamic connection with the national movement of separation from Great Britain.

Now that the account is rendered,[1] and the editor of the *Magazine* has generously invited a general comment on the investigation as a whole, the events of the year 1941 add a new and poignant interest to Anglo-American history. Today the independent United States is consciously re-entering the area of world politics as it never has before; the orbit begun by departure from the British Empire a century and two-thirds ago is visibly closing; national policy declares that the fate of Great Britain is inextricably our own. Such a declaration gives a fresh significance to the separation effected by the Revolution: was it a deep clean break, or was it incomplete and superficial? What does the case of Maryland tell us on the point?

As we search out the origins of Maryland's separation from the mother country, we may well consider large things first, those intellectual influences toward liberalism which were not truly local but common to British culture everywhere, at home and overseas alike. Then we may gradually narrow the focus. There were certain emancipating influences, political and commercial, which were markedly American not British, such as the self-conscious aggressiveness of the assemblies

1. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940). As my invitation is to submit to readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* my reflections on the subject of the book, I feel free to dispense with elaborate documentation below. The book itself will supply documentation and detail for those who want them.

This article first appeared in volume 36 (1941). Charles A. Barker (1904–1993) joined the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University in 1945 as professor and served as chairman of the history department from 1967 until his retirement five years later. He wrote several award-winning books, including Background of the Revolution in Maryland *(1940),* Henry George *(1955), and* American Convictions *(1970).*

and the economic independence of the merchants. They were important in Maryland. Finally we shall need to narrow our vision to the very particular. Certain distressed features of the tobacco-staple economy and the hopelessly divided structure of provincial politics, unique in Maryland, are necessary to understand the intensity of the revolutionary impulse when it came.

The very largest thing in the British Commonwealth of Nations today, as its spokesmen are proud to say, is its common mind and its set of liberal principles. In the long view, much the same thing was true of the old colonial system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Far less was said then than now about a common political mentality or a common civilization; British liberalism was not yet mature or democratic in implication and appeal. Yet the prominence of mercantilism in the colonial period, with its accents on trade and central control, should not obscure the fact that there did overarch the British and British-American world a common English-speaking and English-feeling culture which was richer and more enduring than trade regulation. It was a culture which in its more liberal and conscious aspects stemmed largely from England's own revolutionary and early-scientific period of the seventeenth century, and which was destined in due time to contribute emancipating ideas to the revolutionary movements in America and Europe alike. This culture was partly a political thing: it conveyed the natural-rights philosophy in the writings of Coke and Locke and many others; and it conveyed a faith in constitutional government which came close to constitution-worship. It also practiced such a tolerance of religious and political differences as evoked the praise of Voltaire, who was used to Roman Catholic intolerance in France, and that of the young Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who resented the colonial anti-Catholicism of the French and Indian War period. It equally expressed recognition of science, summed up in the reputation of Sir Isaac Newton; and it produced a contemporary literature which was inspired, Gibbon said, by "the spirit of reason and liberty."

Maryland had a generous share of this English culture. The libraries of well-to-do provincials testify to tastes which had been cultivated during periods of study in England. Stephen Bordley and various members of the Carroll family, for example, all had a special taste for the classics, particularly Latin letters and literature; their own correspondences include discussions of the merits of ancient statesmen as set forth by historians of the period. Such private libraries as theirs, as well as the circulating libraries which were launched in the dozen or so years before the Revolution, plainly indicate a wide preference for works of history and political thought; they also indicate special enthusiasm for the English poets, essayists, and novelists from the age of Dryden to contemporary publication. The importation of books into late colonial Maryland of course included much that is less marked with the special stamp of the Enlightenment: older works of English literature, handbooks of trade, books of law, and occasional volumes of divinity. But the accent on mod-

ern liberal letters is very plain, in no instances more so than in the Catholic Carroll's fondness for Voltaire, and in the occasional purchase of other French writers such as Bayle, Montesquieu, and Rousseau.

Maryland's own literary product, although it was a minor literature of newspaper essay and other ephemeral writing, exactly caught the modern accent. The gentlemen of the social and literary clubs around Annapolis, of which the well-known Tuesday Club was only one, produced their own mock-heroics after the manner of Butler; and Dr. Hamilton wrote a club history in an ironic and moralistic vein. The *Maryland Almanack*, like the better-known almanacs of Franklin and Ames, was penetrated with worldly wisdom and rationalistic thought. More particularly the weekly *Maryland Gazette*, until 1773 the one newspaper in the province, carried critical essays on government, society, history, and religion. The sharpness and the unanimity of this writing is more suggestive than the amount: there was only the one kind of literature in Maryland, and the thinking it expressed had the same critical quality and the same intellectual independence as Franklin's and Zenger's famous newspapers in Philadelphia and New York.

All this refers, of course, particularly to the members of the upper class—to men of education and social standing who had had a classical education, who belonged to clubs, who could express themselves in Addisonian essays. What of the ideas and attitudes of the lower classes? What particularly of the class of freemen who owned sufficient land to vote, but who as small planters had little or no education? Could they share the critical modernism of the well-to-do?

About the only direct evidence is that of religion in the established church, and it is such as to suggest that the ideas of the Enlightenment cut deep into the lower levels of society. Such clergymen as Hugh Jones and Thomas Bacon reported widespread deism in the parishes. They and their sort may have been alarmists, but they leave a picture of religious coolness, of scepticism about revelation, and of the decline of family worship; such a picture conforms nicely with the pattern of thought familiar in the upper class. With exceptions for the piety of the German sectarians and the Methodists of northern and western Maryland, and in spite of the opposition of religious individuals of the lower counties, it does seem that the critical secular spirit reached very far in Maryland. And, as religious rationalism and political Whiggism were intellectual twins in the British world, equal offspring of the natural-law philosophy, it seems farther that the Maryland mind was well prepared to receive the arguments of political liberalism, even of revolution. England had exported to the colony the hardy habit of critical thought, and the habit had taken many roots.

As Maryland shared a national culture that was at once British and American, so it also shared with all the other colonies an increasing movement of self-government in America. From the very earliest years of its history, the province had had an assembly; in a remarkably short period that assembly had established itself as a

true legislature with powers to introduce and to enact laws of all kinds. A similar degree of autonomy prevailed in the whole British colonial world of the mid-eighteenth century. By that time a normal type of government had emerged; with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the colonies were organized as provinces under crown or proprietor. Under this form government had been stabilized as a divided thing: the source and focus of authority was located in the mother country, and administration and legislation were located in America. Certain special institutional and political tensions and rivalries, which we shall have to consider later, were to flow from Maryland's peculiar proprietary control, as established by the charter of 1632. But in all the larger aspects Maryland's provincial government was the same as in Virginia and the other royal colonies. Authoritarian control from the mother country, represented by a governor and other officials appointed by the lord proprietor, was met and balanced by legislation in the elected assembly, by the custom of the country, by the political pride and self-consciousness of a growing and promising community.

The elected houses of all the colonial assemblies—whatever their individual differences—shared a common language of argument in asserting their ambition for power. It was the language of English constitutionalism or parliamentarianism, which had matured and gained currency in the course of the seventeenth century at home. Maryland excelled in its use. As early as 1638 the assembly declared that its members should have "powers, privileges, authority, and jurisdiction" similar to those of the House of Commons; in 1682 it was second only to Jamaica in winning a full grant of its right to parliamentary privileges; and in 1725 it employed the language of parliamentary privilege to justify itself in an endeavor to fix certain rules for the governor in the appointment of the county judges. As parliamentary privilege was thus stretched into an elastic formula expressing the will of the legislature to rule, so also other features of the British tradition were borrowed and adapted to the needs of Maryland. Each new session began with the presentation of the speaker of the House of Delegates to the governor, much as the speaker of the House of Commons was presented to the King; standing committees were set up with names and functions much like those of historic committees of the Commons; officials were regularly elected and rules of procedure adopted exactly on the English pattern. There was convenience in such arrangements, of course; the Delegates had business to do, and there was practical advantage in following a successful model. But close imitation of the Mother of Parliaments expressed a feeling of ambition even more than of convenience; to act in parliamentary way created overtones of parliamentary power, and colonial hearing was keyed to such tones.

The natural-rights philosophy, moreover, supplied another indication of political strength on the American side of the provincial structure of government. Here was a less used but more formidable weapon of political advance than the assertion of parliamentary traditions. A precedent borrowed from the House of

Commons had the weakness of argument by analogy; a spokesman for the opposition, as was Attorney General Pratt during the French and Indian War, might simply declare the precedent to have no meaning in an American legislature. But natural law—which seems to have been as well known to Marylanders from Coke's writings as from Locke's own—admitted no sifting of precedents. Ultimately moral and metaphysical in basis, an argument based upon it could not be crushed by weight of proprietary or other authority; it was universal in its claim. Thus, when in 1725 the House of Delegates declared that, "It is we that are the people's representatives for whom all laws are made and human government established," or when it informed the appointed council that an "ample and full power of legislation is lodged in this province," it attached its political position to an article of faith—to the then modern and always liberal position that government is in its very nature derived from people not kings. In Maryland, and everywhere in America, theory was matching precedent as it contributed to the conviction that the real seat of political power lay, not where commissions were issued and instructions prepared, in England, but where laws were enacted and administered, and where the will of the people was expressed.

In the two types of political thinking just described and illustrated as of about 1725, there will be recognized the same two types as were to be evoked, on a national scale, during the critical dozen years beginning in 1764. An argument which was more historical and precedent-stating than philosophical was to be marshaled against the Stamp Act: in such terms the Marylander Daniel Dulany was to plead for all the colonies. But in the deeper crisis of 1776 the ultimate philosophical argument alone, the assertion of rights against tyranny, was to suffice: the more sweeping mind of Thomas Jefferson was then to be required. The logical progression from the more moderate and legalistic constitutionalism of 1765 to the more radical and theoretical justification of revolution in 1776 has sometimes been made to seem more of a change of mind than actually it was. The case of the Maryland House of Delegates during the half-century before the Revolution is a useful reminder that in the colonial mind, as in the political thinking of seventeenth-century England, the deepening of the parliamentary tradition and the expression of the fundamental rights philosophy were merely two phases of the same emerging liberalism. They supported each other. And in using the two together, the Maryland House of Delegates placed itself in an interesting historical position: it was borrowing intellectual resources from the revolutionary age of the mother country; and it was using those resources to justify and strengthen self-government in America.

As we approach the significant economic movements of pre-revolutionary Maryland, we may narrow our focus to agriculture and trade, and particularly to the areas of the lower Chesapeake and Potomac where tobacco-raising was concentrated. In this instance, local conditions of production and marketing tell us

more of the revolutionary impulse than do the wider aspects of the British regulation of trade. Yet the surrounding framework of British mercantilism did set the stage: Maryland as a tobacco-staple-producing area was obliged under the English act of 1660 to concentrate its trade in the mother country. The law required that colonial tobacco be sold in Great Britain or the colonies; and, because the very great part of the consumers' market for Maryland tobacco lay on the continent of Europe, the application of the law meant that nearly all of Maryland's staple was consigned to British merchants for reconsignment and sale abroad. This condition of the principal export trade focused the credit of the province and fixed the import market very largely at the "head of trade" in England. Thus Maryland planters and merchants were direct participators in a great overseas trading system, and as such they experienced the recurrent adversities of general depression. Yet they never made public protest against mercantilism, either in principle or in opposition to the administration of the old acts of navigation; any smuggling in contradiction to the laws was at a minimum. Their economic grievances they conceived in the more particular terms of tobacco-raising and selling, and of the specific practical difficulties of doing business overseas.

In the half-century before the Revolution those difficulties were continuous and serious. On the whole the period was one of great expansion: the population approximately trebled, reaching about a quarter-million at the time of independence; great fortunes were made, partly through speculation; towns rose and grew where there had been none before—particularly Baltimore, Frederick, and Hagerstown. But in this period the annual exportation of tobacco expanded hardly at all, and there were several intervals, conforming to the wars and to depressions common to Britain and all the colonies, when the export of tobacco dropped alarmingly low. In so thoroughly agrarian an economy as that of Maryland (and Virginia) there was no general problem of subsistence—the problem of depression never became so serious a social problem then as it now is. But hard times made a burden of the vast complex of debts which extended, under normal credit arrangements, from provincial consumers of all classes through the middlemen to the ultimate creditors in the export business in Britain. Debts then as always were a worrying business; and in the most difficult times Maryland feeling translated them from private and individual transactions into the language of common protest.

Such questions came to their first full public discussions on the occasion which made full discussion possible, the setting up of William Parks' printing press and the launching of the *Maryland Gazette* in 1727. This was a period of the severest stringency; and pamphlets and newspaper columns debated the plight of the planters in elaborate and informing detail. Various remedies were proposed. The British merchants who managed the foreign sale of the tobacco might be drawn into a trade agreement in support of tobacco prices; the assembly might pass legislation fixing requirements of quality for tobacco to be exported, a program favorable to

the large planters; or it might pass restrictions on the amount of tobacco to be planted, a plan favorable to the small planters. Discussion led to a moderate degree of action. In due course, the two types of tobacco legislation were tentatively tried, in 1727 and in 1728 and 1730; and in 1728 a trade agreement was attempted. No remedy really succeeded, however, and in 1733 a paper-money law accomplished more than any other measure to relieve the depression in the province.

Between that time and 1747, the year in which the assembly enacted a tobacco-inspection system on the model of the successful Virginia experiment, the province evolved a sort of double-headed economic policy. In the seventeen-thirties a considerable number of statutes was passed which may be grouped in so far as they all encouraged economic diversification; this was an effort to escape such complete dependence on the staple as had seemed the hardest feature of the recent depression. Various provisions, in the form of bounties and tax-exemptions, were enacted for the encouragement of hemp-raising, linen manufacture, iron production, and copper-mining. The other object of the developing economic policy was the old one, the regulation of the tobacco trade with a purpose to improve sales overseas. This was accomplished with the law of 1747: it provided for the erection of public warehouses and the appointment of inspectors at designated official ports; all tobacco was required to pass examination as to quality before exportation; the administration of the law was placed under the supervision of the justice of the peace in the counties.

These economic undertakings have a significance of self-government entirely in character with the assembly's assertions of parliamentary privileges and fundamental rights. The laws in favor of paper money, new industries, and tobacco regulation created a public and political interest where there had previously been very little or none. The tobacco-inspection law had, in addition, a yet more specific political meaning: The House of Delegates, in the knowledge that the proprietary upper house wanted an inspection system as much as it did itself, refused to pass the law without clauses which provided for a scaling-down of the fees charged by provincial officials and for a twenty-five per-cent reduction of the tax for the salaries of the established clergy. As officials and clergymen alike were the appointees of the lord proprietor or of one of his high officers of state, these reductions were a matter of long political bargaining. This particular success became a point of pride with the Delegates. On the eve of the Revolution, the house stretched the precedent of having won a reduction of fees in 1747 to assert that the legislature had established an exclusive jurisdiction, and that when the law expired no fees could be collected without new legislation. The proprietary council of course refused to concede such a sweeping claim.

To return to the problem of provincial economic policy, we can now see, with the advantage of hindsight, that economic diversification and the state-regulation of tobacco together marked a step in separation from the mercantilist intention of

the mother country. In a superficial sense, indeed, tobacco inspection conformed with the general interest—it was devised to improve a staple trade which itself operated comfortably in line with British policy. But the act signified the contraction of this trade, not its expansion; it involved the local regulation of commerce, not the national. And the acts for advancing other industries than tobacco, except in the case of iron, were favorable to products which entered the intercolonial trade or the trade with southern Europe and the wine islands, and had little use to expand the trade with Great Britain. The relevant statistics are few and far-between, but the best indications suggest that, about 1760, two-thirds of Maryland's trade was with Great Britain, and that one-third, representing a vast increase, was with the other colonies or with southern Europe and the islands. This trend, while in no sense in violation of the acts of trade, does indicate a departure from the traditional policy of mercantilism. It indicates an Americanization of trade—shifting of lines to fit provincial needs—in place of the British predominance which had been the rule.

The final narrowing of our historical focus, in seeking out the tensions and conditions productive of the revolutionary impulse, must bring into view certain special features of Maryland's institutions and politics. We have already seen that provincial government in its nature involved a difficult reach in administration overseas, between authoritative control in the mother country and the processes of administration and law-making in the colony. In the case of Maryland, the charter of 1632 had defined the powers and privileges of the lord proprietor, the authoritative head, in uniquely feudal and reactionary language. Thus when the House of Delegates adopted the modern language and tactics of parliamentary precedent, the strain between the two sides of the provincial structure became almost more than politics could bear. With reference to the difficulties of the seventeenth century, Professor Andrews has well expressed the permanent situation:

> When the [proprietary] upper house spoke of its privilege, honor, and dignity, it was referring to a charter the terms of which are traceable to the fourteenth century; when the lower house spoke of its privileges, it had in mind the precedents and practices of the House of Commons in the seventeenth century.[2]

In the eighteenth century, this continuing difference of principle was matched by an equal difference of interest. It was a plain matter of money and power.

The royal charter had conveyed to the lords proprietors legal rights which only waited on the occupation of land and the development of trade to become transformed into a vastly productive property. No proprietors were ever more insistent

2. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History,* II (New Haven, 1936), 327.

than Charles and Frederick, the fifth and the sixth Lords Baltimore, to have developed the machinery of administration and collection which would secure them the land revenues and other sources of income which were their right. Between 1762 and 1771 Frederick, Lord Baltimore, received from his agent in Maryland a total income of nearly £119,000, or an average of more than £13,200 annually. About two-thirds of the eighteenth-century proprietor's income derived from his rights in the soil, principally quit-rents and purchase-money; about one-third derived from minor sources and from port duties which had been enacted decades earlier and were now regretted by the assembly. Beside what the proprietor received personally, he controlled patronage offices worth about £12,000 annually, and he controlled church appointments worth about £8,000. Thus we reach a total of about £33,000 to represent the annual worth of the province to Lord Baltimore and his appointees, as of the later years of the colonial period.

In terms of any contemporary comparison, this was a great amount. In 1767 Governor Sharpe made an estimate of the annual cost to Maryland of those charges of government which did not involve patronage—the payment of county and parish expenses and the support of the courts and the legislature. In round figures the estimate was £18,000; and this makes it appear that proprietary and patronage benefits amounted to more than two-thirds again as much as public services. Or, in an economic comparison, the £33,000 of private benefits was roughly equivalent to an 18% tax on Maryland's annual purchasing power in Great Britain, as established by the export trade. In cold statistical fact, the proprietary system was expensive for the people of Maryland to maintain.

This was the interest, so well guaranteed by charter provision, which the House of Delegates faced in natural hostility. Colonial jealousy of an absentee landlord was inevitable; but the fact alone that Lord Baltimore had a very large stake in the institutional order of Maryland was something that could hardly be expressed as a grievance. The delegates themselves were almost to a man the holders of large estates; their leaders were usually the principal lawyers of Maryland. In the common understanding of the eighteenth century, moreover, governmental office was not a public trust; it was a property right; and offices were commonly bought, sold, and inherited in Great Britain. And yet, through a long generation before the Revolution, a general consciousness of financial exploitation permeated the assembly struggle against the powers and prerogatives of Lord Baltimore. The House of Delegates seized whatever weapons it could to attack his privileges. It criticized the method of collecting quit-rents; it found grounds for objecting to alienation fines; it declared the permanent duty act of 1704 to be technically invalid; it resolved that proprietary officials had no right to collect the license fees paid by ordinary-keepers. Through long periods, these scattering attacks were supported rather by heat than by concentrated force; but occasionally, as in the case of the ordinary licenses, the lower house won a concession.

In the half-century before the Revolution two major influences did give the Delegates some real political leverage. The first we have already seen: the necessity of tobacco legislation obliged the two houses of assembly to make concessions, and the Delegates always regarded the statutory reduction of fees and the church tax as a greater political victory than it really was. The other point of political advantage was the necessity imposed by the wars with Spain and France for the governors to ask the assembly for fresh appropriations and taxes. This influence gave occasion for the most advanced proposals of the lower house: it would agree to pass the desired bills only on condition that the lord proprietor would make certain concessions.

Significantly enough, the first war year, 1739, was also the first year of a frontal political attack on the major financial privileges of Lord Baltimore. In a kind of manifesto, which followed a long period of controversy over a defense tax, the House of Delegates resolved in part that,

> The people of Maryland thinks the proprietor takes money from them unlawfully.
> The proprietary says he has a right to that money.

Accordingly, the resolutions went on, the house must appeal to the judgment of the crown for a decision which will bring order and common agreement into Maryland affairs. Thus was launched an effort which persisted for thirty-five years, that is, until the final session of the colonial assembly in 1774. The underlying thought was that if the king in council heard and judged the practices of the lord proprietor, reform would be ordered or the proprietary government would be dissolved. Twice, namely in 1740 and in 1767, the Delegates reached the point of designating a colonial agent to plead their cause. But this political thrust never actually reached the king, and it probably would have failed if it had.

The significance of appeal to the crown is hardly less great in failure, however, than it would have been in success. This quixotic effort to destroy or transform Lord Baltimore's charter rights amply indicates that, for more than three decades before the Boston Port Act, the House of Delegates had advanced as far as possible in the assertion of legislative supremacy and of self-government. In this instance, the political aims of the lower house fully conformed with the familiar high language of parliamentary tradition and fundamental rights. And when the method of appeal to England failed, as particularly in 1767, that failure was not taken to signify that the policy of extremism was to be abandoned. Failure merely forced the impulse of political protest to flow into new channels. It did not change the objective. It compelled the House of Delegates to take its affairs out-of-doors and share them more fully with the voters of Maryland. During the French and Indian War period, when the lower house stood in the most irreconcilable disagreement with

the proprietor, governor, and appointed council, the voters of certain counties began for the first time to "instruct" their members. This was a newly democratic procedure familiar in the New England townships but not in class-conscious Maryland. And in 1771 and 1773, the years of final and demoralizing conflict within the provincial system, voluntary committees took over some of the functions of government; the fee-incomes of some of the high officials were publicized in the newspaper; the salaries of many clergymen were withheld; and, generally, there was an unprecedented amount of public discussion and public participation in governmental business. If the king in council would not speak on the merits of Maryland affairs, the people themselves were ready to do so. Their sentiment was quite as anti-proprietary as the polity of the lower house.

Against such a background Maryland moved into the. period of active revolution. In common with the other colonies, the province was galvanized into protest and action by the familiar catastrophies of British policy in 1765, 1767, and 1774. We need not review that chain of events at this time. Nor would much more than an addition to the story of aggravation be gained by analysis of the peculiarly severe depression in the tobacco trade during the middle seventeen-sixties. Plainly the various stages of imperial policy represented by Grenville, Townshend, and Lord North were all of a sort to offend the doubly rooted Whiggism of Maryland political thought. And equally the political habit of resistance, led as always by the men of substance and education in the province—the Carrolls, Bordleys, Tilghmans, Johnsons, and the like—was not such as to yield because one or another of George III's ministers succeeded, for the time being, in putting a new face on Britain's policy.

From a deeper background of national history Britain had long since exported to colonials overseas an early-modern liberal view of politics. Such a view had been accompanied and supported by a kindred liberal culture, the inheritance of the governing and educated classes. To the parliamentary Britain of the Pyms and Hampdens Maryland leadership was deeply and consciously loyal. The Britain of the fifth and sixth Lords Baltimore, of Grenville and North, on the other hand, the Maryland mind knew all too well. By long conviction and fixed habit it was ready to resist that Britain. Nor would it draw back when resistance led into revolution through the familiar paths of political protest and turmoil.

Comment

Charles A. Barker's essay, "The Revolutionary Impulse in Maryland," effectively distills the arguments he presented in *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland.* Published in 1940 by Yale University Press, Barker's monograph remains essential reading for anyone seriously interested in eighteenth-century Maryland. The principal value of Barker's work lies in its elucidation of what he defined as the multiple "impulses" that at length aggregated to push Maryland toward independence. Writing in an eclectic tradition that encompassed an impressive range of political, legal, social, and economic considerations, Barker paid particular attention to the influence of ideas, the economic context of human action, and the role of competing local political factions. Although he did not privilege one of these dimensions over another, the unexamined assumption that underlay his interpretation posited only one perspective from which to examine the American Revolution—that of the white Protestant gentry. One of the most important advances in comprehending the Revolution that has developed since Barker's day has been the recognition that to understand the seminal event in our history fully, a variety of viewpoints, including those of enslaved persons, women, ordinary farmers, urban laborers, tenants, Native Americans, and others excluded from power must be made part of the account. For Maryland, the operation of the penal laws that prohibited Roman Catholics from participating in the colony's political life between 1718 and 1776 serves to underscore dramatically the necessity for grasping not only the multiple impulses that sparked the American revolt but also the complex variety of perceptions from which those impulses sprang.

Ronald Hoffman
Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture

Magic in Early Baltimore

MILBOURNE CHRISTOPHER

The first magician to perform in a Baltimore theatre exhibited his wonders on the evening of Monday, November 26th, 1787, at the "Old Theatre," a playhouse long since demolished but which stood on East Baltimore Street.[1] His name, Signior Falconi; his magic, to quote the *Maryland Gazette*, "they [the audience] had never seen before, in this part of the world, any thing equal to it."

Little wonder, for Falconi's "Natural Philosophical Experiments" were varied and curious. A "sympathetic" windmill started or stopped at the audience's whim, an automaton "in a Turkish dress" answered "by signs" questions put to it, and predicted the numbers which came up on two dice rolled by a volunteer. Then, too, there were "Experiments of the CATOPTRIC, or appearances produced by the reflection of Mirrors" and Signior Falconi himself foretold beforehand "the Combinations or Arrangements of four different Numbers, given by anyone of the Company."

His concluding feat was especially striking. A slip of paper bearing a written question was loaded into a pistol and fired out of the theatre, whereupon a dove instantly appeared with the answer in its beak. Even today this would "create wonderment."

Falconi, originally, was to have appeared at the Old Theatre six days earlier. He lamented the delay in the *Gazette*, but added that the "Moisture of atmosphere" would certainly have been unfavorable for his "Experiment of Expulsion by Electricity."

Delighted by his reception in Baltimore, the Italian illusionist prolonged his engagement and in succeeding weeks stressed new and intriguing tricks in his many advertisements. Among them, the "Talisman Chinois," the "Incomprehensible Polomoscope," and "Theophrastus Paracelsus." Were, I wonder, Falconi's tricks as

1. Presumably this was the earliest building erected for theatrical purposes. It stood on the north side of the street opposite Lloyd Street and opened Jan. 15, 1782.

This article first appeared in volume 38 (1943). Milbourne Christopher (1914–1984), was a world-renowned magician and author of numerous articles on magic. His Illustrated Houdini *is the standard biography of the legendary escape artist. Born in Baltimore, Christopher devoted his career to creating magic and writing on the craft and its history, both in civilian life and during military service in World War II. He is best remembered for drawing magicians from around the world into prime-time television. The Milbourne Christopher Foundation, established after the artist's death, recognizes mentalist, illusionist, and literary talent.*

baffling to his audiences as their names are to me? Noteworthy were his remote control mysteries. At a distance of twelve feet Falconi stopped and started borrowed watches and though a "SOLID GOLD HEAD" as large as a walnut was "sealed up in a tumbler," he made it clang against the sides to answer questions. As was the custom of the period, Falconi sold seats to spectators who wanted to sit on the stage. The demand must have been great for he said that he could only seat two persons on either side without interfering with his "business." A shrewd showman, Falconi requested those who had seen him perform to refrain from telling of his surprises so that he could "delight each new audience completely."

Admission to the show of wonders was "three quarters of a dollar" in the boxes and fifty cents in the pit and the curtain rose at the early hour of six.

Falconi's first known show in this hemisphere was a failure. In June, 1786, handbills were distributed in Mexico City telling of Falconi's success in the courts of Naples, France and Portugal. The day after the opening, however, a jester "dressed in blue and gold" appeared in the theatre's vestibule and announced that the show had been a fiasco.[2]

Signor Falconi and his "Phisionotrace," a device for "Taking Likenesses" were in Bermuda in 1819. He took four profiles for half a dollar. They could be made normal size, he said, or small enough to fit in a finger ring. So confident was he of his machine that he advertised in the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser* for Saturday, November 6, 1819, "No resemblance no payment." No mention was made of his magic. Perhaps he had given up his conjuring, or had someone appropriated his name?

While Falconi was the first magician to perform in a Baltimore theatre it is possible, even probable, that long before his coming traveling sleight-of-hand men had shown their tricks in Maryland homes or taverns. Hyman Saunders, a magician who performed "without descending to the low tricks of cups, balls, ribbands, etc." claimed in a Jamaican paper a performance before "his excellency, Robert Green, Esq., Governor of Maryland."[3] Alas, there was no Governor Robert Green of Maryland at the time. Perhaps Saunders did perform before a Maryland governor, possibly Sir Robert Eden. Even this would not be conclusive, for as early as 1770 Saunders was appearing in New York and elsewhere and a Governor of Maryland may have seen him outside the colony. If, however, early Marylanders did see Hyman Saunders they saw a versatile sorcerer. During the course of his program he fried German pancakes in a borrowed hat, made a piece of money fly from hand to hand, passed a borrowed ring on a sword held between two spectators and pulled off an onlooker's shirt without removing his coat or waistcoat.

The *Baltimore Daily Repository* of September 7, 1792, carried the following advertisement:

2. David T. Bamberg, "History of Magic and Magicians in Mexico," in the *Sphinx*, May, 1938.
3. *Jamaica Gazette*, March 25, 1775.

> By permission Quick Silver (Just arrived in town) will perform this evening in the house of Mr. Henry Speck, at the sign of the Indian-Queen in Water Street, a number of surprising feats of activity, such as balancing, with a number of other exploits too numerous to mention.
>
> To conclude with great Dexterity of hand the same as Breslaw exhibited in London with universal applause. This performance will be on every Wednesday and Saturday evening, to begin precisely at 7 o'clock P.M. Admittance one quarter of a dollar for grown persons and half price for children. He will at any time that does not interfere with his set nights perform a number of feats for any company that may choose to employ him, either by day or night. Vivat Respublica.

Wainwright and Co. presented "a number of Pleasing and entertaining curiosities of Dexterity, with Money and a vast Number of seeming Impossibilities, such as Eating Fire, in a most surprising manner" on the evening of March 15, 1793, at the Old Theatre. Along with the magic, puppets three feet tall from England were exhibited and there was tumbling by a "young man from Edinburgh with the humors of a clown."[4]

In 1794 Falconi was back in Baltimore. This time at the New Theatre (near Lower Bridge). Featured now in his "Philosophical Performances" was the "Sagacious Mermaid," a figure in water which held a sword in its hand and performed "a number of entertaining and instructive experiments." Incidentally Falconi (or was it the printer) was now spelling the title before his name "Seignior." Later he simplified it to "Signor." Falconi stressed that he offered his soirees "without the assistance of an illusive puffing advertisement which often disappointed the expectations of the Public." He went an to say that he purposely omitted many particulars about his performance so as to "have it in his power the more agreeably to surprise the audience." Bowing to late comers, his curtain now rose at six-thirty instead of at six.[5]

Much admired in Falconi's new show were his Chinese Shades (shadows), especially one which danced a hornpipe "equal to a dancing master." New tricks included "The Incomparable Swan," the "Horizontal Dial," "Blind Combination," the "Astonishing Sealed Snuff Box" and "The Ring on the Stick." The last mentioned, by the way, is still popular with present day conjurers. The titles of his tricks now tell something of their nature rather than hide and confuse.

Falconi during his absence from the city, had stepped up his "mathemagical mysteries." He now foretold the sum of six columns of numbers written by as many spectators. The "Signor" added a new automaton in February, 1794. An Indian figure, armed with a bow and arrow, hit selected numbers with its released

4. *Baltimore Daily Repository*, March 15, 1793.
5. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Repository,* January–February, 1794.

arrow. Further, two or even three dice could be rolled under a hat, yet before it was lifted the Indian marksman would indicate the correct total. To entice his audiences to come earlier Falconi slyly announced that he would open his performance with the new figure.

"Weather permitting," announced Falconi on February 19, he would perform the "Ring and Orange," another mystery even now in the repertoires of magicians, the effect being to pass a borrowed ring into the center of an examined orange. Also, he promised a spectacle "Thunderstorm at Sea." This he described in great detail. It was a machine, he said, which produced the effect of "Swelling of the Sea and Waves rolling with Incredible Impetuosity: the Sky wonderfully covered with Clouds, the natural appearance of the Hail, with its concomitant noise; and a Brig in Distress, which after a struggle is dismasted and goes down."

Baltimore spring weather was too bad for his "Thunderstorm at Sea." On March 12, he said that, though advertised four times before, "changeable weather" caused him to postpone his performance. Now to satisfy those previously disappointed he promised in addition to his usual wonders, a new finish to his Dove trick (the one in which a dove brings an answer to a question shot out of the theatre by a pistol). To top it off a "Genius of monstrous size" would reproduce the original question. Bowing even lower to latecomers, Falconi announced that his curtain would now rise at seven instead of six-thirty.

On February 17, 1794, the showmanly sorcerer announced a showing of his most popular tricks so that a newcomer to his entertainment could get the cream of his conjuring at one sitting. Still annoyed by stragglers, he added "Ladies and gentlemen be punctual" to his advertisement. Falconi was not one to quibble. In Jamaica in 1801 he boldly remarked in his advertising: "In a community like this, such things [performances of magic] ought to be encouraged; it fills up those hours after dinner too often devoted to the pernicious pleasures of the bottle."

Falconi had a knack of tying in current events with his performance. At the New Theatre in Baltimore on February 22, 1794, he presented a "Representation of engagement between Ambuscade and Boston Frigate taken from accounts published in the New-York papers." Obviously, this was a reworking of his "Thunderstorm at Sea." Catering to French refugees who were flowing into Baltimore at this time, he announced his performances in both English and French. Years later (1816) he again capitalized on the news. During his New York engagements the "ghost" of J. J. Rousseau manifested itself nightly on his stage.

Soon after Falconi's run at the New Theatre a Mr. Cressin came to town with "two strange animals"—Co-co and Gibonne. Gibonne, the female monkey, as one of her stunts had an onlooker replace a selected card in a pack, whereupon after the time honored magical custom, she discovered it. This was at "Two Flags near lower end of the Market House" in July, 1794.[6]

6. *Baltimore Daily Repository,* July 11, 1794.

A "Magic Bush" which changed into a "Tailor without a Head" was a feature of "Harlequin's Invasion," a pantomime presented at the New Theatre on November 24th, 1795. I was delighted to discover that a "Mr. Milbourne" designed the "scenery."[7]

John Rannie, ventriloquist, posture maker and magician, came to Mr. Wyant's Ball Room in November, 1802.[8] He offered among other things "Arts and Experiments and real power of attraction by the magical wand." The sort of thing that was once called witchcraft, Rannie said, but he freely admitted "All is deception and experiment." Tobacco-smoking Baltimoreans were warned beforehand. "No segars to be smoked in the room."

There were, by the way, two Mr. Rannies performing at this time. The first played in New York in December, 1801, with his ventriloquism and the trick of beheading a rooster then restoring it. The second arrived two months later. He billed himself as Mr. Rannie, Senior, and he pointed out that he had been in Boston 46 nights previously and that this was *his* second American engagement. This Mr. Rannie, too, was a ventriloquist, and he, too, performed feats of curious magic. This poses a problem. Which Mr. Rannie came to Baltimore in November, 1802.

Two animal "mentalists" were on view in 1807. The first was Spottie, an "African horse." Spottie, according to the *American and Commercial Advertiser,*[9] was of four colors, spotted like a leopard and had a tail like an elephant. This curiosity added, multiplied, subtracted, divided, told the time by a watch and counted "the number of buttons on a gentleman's coat."

Soon after this the "Goat of Knowledge" came to town and amused Baltimoreans by not only reading and spelling but also, like Gibbone, discovering chosen cards in a shuffled pack.[10]

In January, 1811, Mr. Martin offered his "Philomathematical amusements intermixed with pleasing feats of Dexterity, Surprise and Deception" plus "Phantasmagoria" each evening but Saturday at six in Mr. Barney's Assembly Room.[11] Three years before his Baltimore visit, Mr. Martin had been the center of an amusing controversy in New York. A critical New Yorker said in a letter to the *Commercial Advertiser* that the place where Mr. Martin was then performing was once a church but now "a place of amusement for vulgar minds." Not only were tricks displayed, he went on, but "the devil dances on stilts to the tune of a hand organ." Magician Martin snapped back that since the criticism more people than ever were coming to see the devil dance, and that though he had originally planned leaving New

7. *Federal Intelligencer,* Nov. 24, 1795.
8. *Federal Gazette,* Nov. 6, 1802.
9. Sept. 12, 1807. Spottie was on view at Mr. Cook's tavern, Market Space.
10. *American,* Nov. 20, 1807. The Goat of Knowledge was shown at Mr. Myer's Tavern, 25 Marsh Market Space.
11. *Ibid.,* Jan. 1, 1811.

York that week he would stay and show curious New Yorkers "as many devils" as they might care to see.

Sad epilogue. In a postscript to Mr. Martin's first advertisement in Baltimore he offered all of his "machines" for sale, and said that he himself would instruct the purchasers in their use. Perhaps Mr. Martin had tired making the devils dance.

Comment

Had Christopher Milbourne been alive in the early 1800s, he would undoubtedly have been in the audience for most if not all of Signior Falconi's Baltimore performances. Although he missed the man in the flesh, Milbourne took equal pleasure in bringing Falconi to life for readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. And as he relates, Falconi was not alone in seeking to entertain Baltimoreans with feats of magic and baffling tricks. Other itinerants, including a Mr. Cressin, John Rannie, and a Mr. Martin, also performed feats of "Dexterity, Surprise and Deception" for the men, women, and children of Baltimore.

The magicians whose programs Milbourne described with such enthusiasm and appreciation were part of a larger cultural development of the early national period—the proliferation of traveling entertainers who visited not only large cities like Baltimore but also smaller towns along the Eastern seaboard. Theatrical companies, whose varied repertoire could divert audiences for weeks, had toured the Chesapeake's few towns during the late colonial period. In the aftermath of independence, new towns formed and grew in size, attracting traveling troupes of entertainers who offered a more limited program but who could now move easily from town to town in the search for new audiences. John Rannie, for example, whose 1802 Baltimore appearances Milbourne noted, stopped in Easton in June 1803 and by August was advertising for patrons in Washington and Georgetown. In February 1804 his circuit included Philadelphia, Centreville, Easton, and Georgetown—and most likely Chestertown and perhaps Cambridge as well. Traveling entertainments included not only theatre troupes and magicians but such diversions as exotic and talented animals (the mammoth ox on display in Georgetown in 1804, for example), slack wire dancing, exhibitions of waxwork figures, and circuses. For a time in the new nation, these unusual visitors brought together townspeople and their rural neighbors to participate in a shared cultural experience that cut across lines of gender, age, and class.

Jean B. Russo
Annapolis

MdHS Fall Public Programs

Public Lecture

"Seize the Fire: Heroism, Duty, & the Battle of Trafalgar"
Wednesday, September 14, 7 p.m.

Adam Nicolson, author of *Seize the Fire: Heroism, Duty, & the Battle of Trafalgar* (August, Harper Collins) will discuss the 200th anniversary of the seminal European naval battle, examining the ambitions, fears and principles that drove Nelson and his peers and allowed the great admiral to lead the British fleet even after he fell, mortally wounded. Mr. Nicolson will sign books (available in the Museum Shop) after the lecture. Program free with museum admission. Reservations recommended. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for reservations and information.

Fourth Annual Signature Lecture Series

"Wild Rose — The True Story of Civil War Spy Rose Greenhow"
Thursday, September 29. Wine & cheese reception 5:30 p.m., Lecture 6:00 p.m.

Ann Blackman, former news reporter with *Time* magazine and the Associated Press, joins the MdHS for a discussion of *Wild Rose: The Story of a Civil War Spy* (Random House, 2005). Born to a Maryland farming family whose fortunes rapidly declined after her father died at the hand of one of his slaves, Rose Greenhow first sought riches in the California Gold Rush, then returned to Washington, D.C., where she became a prominent hostess and organized her numerous political contacts into a Confederate espionage ring. Blackman presents Greenhow as a woman of charm and intellect, well-equipped to step politely across 19th-century gender boundaries. Books will be on sale in the Museum Shop, and Ms. Blackman will sign copies following the lecture. Tickets are $10/MdHS members and $15/non-members and can be purchased through the MdHS box office at 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

Authors & Artifacts

"Baltimore Harbor as Birthplace of the Modern Submarine" & "The Constant Friendship *& Colonial Tobacco Ships"*
Thursday, October 20. Wine & Cheese reception 5:00 p.m., Lectures 6:00 p.m.

Dr. Wallace Shugg, 2005 Marion Brewington Essay Winner and frequent contributor to this journal, will discuss his prize-winning article on Simon Lake and the *Argonaut*. The visionary designer and his submarine, built in 1897, contributed significantly to the development of modern submarines—right here in Baltimore Harbor.

John Wing, retired management consultant and naval architect, will share his findings on the *Constant Friendship*, an otherwise ordinary vessel that left a rare log of a voyage to the "lost town" of Providence near Annapolis in 1671–72. He will also discuss life at sea, navigation, and the various types of vessels employed in the colonial tobacco trade.

Join the MdHS Maritime Committee, Dr. Shugg, and Mr. Wing for this intriguing maritime program. Tickets are $10 each and can be purchased by calling the MdHS box office at 410-685-3750 ext. 321. Tickets may also be purchased at the door.

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